

George Meany's Article on LABOR AND POLITICS

SEP 2

SEPTEMBER 1953
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The American **FEDERATIONIST**



7, 1953—OBSERVING LABOR DAY ACROSS THE NATION



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The American FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

SEPTEMBER, 1953

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

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Success

He lives a successful life who has cultivated a sense of humor and can laugh and love much; who wins the esteem of sensible people and the admiration of youth; who plays the game of life by the approved rules of wise and good men; who has found what he can do best and puts his best into his work; who makes the world better by his being here; who has learned to appreciate the beauties of nature and the value of character; who looks for the good in other people and knows his own faults and strives to correct them; who produces, with his mind or hand, something useful, whether it be a poem, a chair or a good road; who sets the right example for others; who loves life, yet is not afraid to die; who worships God with his hands as well as with his lips.

A successful life is a prosperous life; but prosperity is applicable to more realms than the financial. Success and dollars are not synonymous. Though a man may have many millions of dollars and still live a successful life, he may on the other hand be as poor as Job's turkey and live a most successful life.

There is a prosperity of the mind and soul that has no price tag. It is the kind of prosperity that comes as the result of a duty well done, a task well performed, a life well lived. The happiest people on earth are they who contribute something to the human race: a book, a poem, a fortune or an honest day's work. There is an unspeakable joy in having many friends, but we must learn that we can make more friends in one month by taking an interest in other people and what they are doing than we can make in years by trying to get other people interested in us and what we are doing.

Man is so constituted that he cannot live by bread alone. There must be in his life a sanctuary for the enjoyment of music, poetry, art, nature and the wonderment and mystery of what some men call religion and others call the soul of the universe.

Man at his best must love and be loved; he must serve and be served. He must have at least a faint conviction that beyond the outer shell of his physical environment there are values which eye hath not seen, ear hath not heard and the mind of man has not conceived.

E. C. Nance.

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Executive Council

SEPTEMBER 1, 1953



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A. F. of L. Convention Preview

NATIONAL and international problems of profound importance to the working people of the United States are to be considered and acted upon at the seventy-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, scheduled to open in St. Louis on September 21. The convention is the first under the presidency of George Meany, who succeeded William Green upon the latter's death last November. As the delegates were traveling toward the convention city, it was reported that the total membership of the American Federation of Labor has now reached the high figure in history.

President Meany was scheduled to deliver his keynote address following welcoming speeches by local and state luminaries of organized labor and government. The keynote address was expected to be the highlight of the convention's opening day.

The officers of the Federation, in the convention call, voiced their expectation that the St. Louis convention would be "extremely important."

"This may be the year of decision between war and peace," the call said. "Events now in the making will determine the course of world affairs for generations to come and will decide whether we in America can enjoy continued prosperity or be forced to undergo an economic recession in the immediate future."

One of the key tasks for the convention will be to take stock of the changes in national policy that have occurred since the 1952 election. The delegates will have to decide how such major goals of the American Federation of Labor as full employment, high standards in a peacetime economy, revision of the Taft-Hartley Act and the enactment of broader social justice legislation can best be furthered.

The representatives of trade unions across the nation will be looking ahead to the 1954 Congressional elections. It is expected that a course for broadened political activity will be charted at the St. Louis conclave.

The delegates are expected to devote a great deal of time to anti-labor legislation and labor's efforts

to secure major revision of the Taft-Hartley Act. The problem was dramatized a few days before the convention by the resignation of Secretary of Labor Martin Durkin after the White House broke an agreement to send proposed Taft-Hartley amendments to the Capitol.

A number of prominent figures in public life will deliver addresses during the course of the convention. The delegates will also hear talks by leading trade unionists from other countries.

This year's convention will last one week. The delegates will have to work very hard to finish up in the allotted time. They will go about the job in the traditional American way, with arguments pro and con brought out into the open and carefully examined prior to the making of decisions.

The St. Louis convention will have before it the question of labor unity and the no-raiding agreement. The latter was approved by the Executive Council at the Chicago meeting last

month. It is expected that the accord will be formally ratified at St. Louis. Then the C.I.O. will have to act.

The delegates will also be confronted with the problem of the International Longshoremen's Association. That union has not complied with the directives of the Executive Council to clean up by ousting unsavory representatives and ending practices that are reprehensible.

The size of the Executive Council is slated to be increased at this convention by the addition of two vice-presidents.

William Green will be eulogized for his twenty-eight years' service as president of the Federation. The convention will act to establish a suitable memorial plan.

At the seventy-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, as at all previous conventions, the delegates will strive sincerely and indefatigably to hammer out a sound and constructive program of action for the nation's working people for the next twelve months.

Durkin Leaves Cabinet

Says White House Broke Agreement



When T-H accord was not kept, Martin Durkin refused to stay

WHITE HOUSE FAILURE to abide by an agreement on a series of amendments to the Taft-Hartley Act has resulted in the resignation of Secretary of Labor Martin Durkin. Although President Eisenhower tried to dissuade Mr. Durkin from leaving the Cabinet, the Secretary felt that he had no choice except resignation when it became clear that the Administration had decided not to keep a prior agreement in regard to the proposed amendments.

Earlier in the year Mr. Durkin discussed nineteen proposals for changes in the Taft-Hartley Act with President Eisenhower. The Chief Executive agreed with his Secretary of Labor at that time that these proposed amendments should be submitted to Congress by the Administration. Subsequently the White House changed its position, and Mr. Durkin was notified that the Administration had decided not to go along with the amendment proposals which the President had previously agreed to send to Congress.

POLITICAL EDUCATION

Is an A. F. of L. Tradition

By GEORGE MEANY

THIS year every American Federation of Labor member is again being asked to contribute one dollar to become a member of Labor's League for Political Education. As in every campaign since Labor's League was formed in 1947, these dollars will be used exclusively to help elect to national office friends of labor who have been democratically endorsed by the local and state Leagues.

Back in 1947 when the San Francisco A. F. of L. convention voted to establish L.L.P.E. and raise funds for the support of our friends in public office, many A. F. of L. members and leaders thought that we were making a break with A. F. of L. tradition. But that is not the case, as our own official A. F. of L. records will disclose. In truth, we have returned to the great non-partisan political program developed so successfully by Samuel Gompers many decades ago.

When the A. F. of L. was first formed in Pittsburgh in December, 1881, the platform adopted in the first Declaration of Principles included exactly thirteen points. The first twelve called for the passage of specific pieces of legislation, and the thirteenth called for *political action* to elect legislators who would pass the first twelve.

The five national unions that formed the A. F. of L. in 1881 represented only 45,000 members. But it was taken for granted by these affiliated unions that they could take care of organizing the unorganized. Their reason for joining together into a Federation was that they realized they could not expand their membership and get decent conditions for their members unless they united their efforts on public issues and saw that decent legislation was passed. Then as now, one law passed by a hostile



PRESIDENT MEANY

Congress could wipe out all trade union gains and make the strongest union contract a mere scrap of paper.

From the beginning the American Federation of Labor adopted a non-partisan approach to politics. We supported men on the basis of their records, not their party labels. The Socialist leader, Dan DeLeon, tried unsuccessfully in 1895 to force the A. F. of L. to become a Socialist labor movement similar to those in Europe. However, the 1895 convention refused to do this and instead adopted a statement of political policy which pretty much squares with our position today:

"The American Federation of Labor most firmly and unequivocally favors the independent use of the ballot by the trade unionists and the workingmen, united regardless of party * * * to the end that the working people may act as a unit at the polls of every election."

The real period of A. F. of L. non-partisan political action for which Gompers was to become famous was

from 1906 to 1924. If you will go back and read the A. F. of L. proceedings for this period, you will find that in form, objective, methods and finances, Gompers' political program was exactly the same as that of Labor's League today.

By 1905 the abuse of American Federation of Labor unions both in Congress and in the courts had become so bad that the A. F. of L. convention resolved to increase its political activities. The Executive Council authorized Gompers to invite all the international union presidents to meet with the A. F. of L. Executive Council in March of 1906.

"Labor's Bill of Grievances" was drawn up at the meeting and presented to President Theodore Roosevelt, the presiding officer of the Senate and the Speaker of the House. All three chose to ignore this historic document, which wound up with the words:

"But if perchance you may not heed us, we shall appeal to the conscience and the support of our fellow citizens."

That is exactly what the American Federation of Labor did. The Executive Council appointed a separate committee similar to our present L.L.P.E. in order to carry on a non-partisan political campaign in the 1906 Congressional elections. The Labor Representation Committee, as it was called, was made up of President Gompers and the members of the Executive Council resident in Washington.

The Committee issued an appeal for political action to all affiliates on July 22, 1906. It issued a "textbook" on political issues and endorsed candidates, and it conducted a fundraising campaign just as we are doing today in order to assist labor's friends. When we become discouraged because

we raise only a quarter or a half million dollars during a campaign now, it is worth remembering that we have come a long way since 1906. The exact amount raised that year was \$8,056.89.

Somehow the myth has persisted that the A. F. of L. never backed a Presidential candidate until the endorsement of Adlai Stevenson in 1952. That is not true. The Federation officially supported William Jennings Bryan in 1908, Woodrow Wilson in both 1912 and 1916, James Cox in 1920 and LaFollette in 1924. However, it is true that Stevenson was the first to receive an endorsement by an A. F. of L. convention. That is because the 1952 A. F. of L. convention was the first one since 1884 to be held during a Presidential election year between the party nominating conventions and the November election.

Even the Presidential endorsement methods used by Gompers were similar to those the A. F. of L. adopted in 1952. In 1952 the officers of the A. F. of L. presented recommendations to the platform committees of both parties. The A. F. of L. convention resolution supporting Stevenson was not a mere endorsement. It was an educational document containing a detailed analysis of both platforms and the records of the two candidates.

That is exactly the way in which Gompers and his associates operated. For instance, on March 18, 1908, a conference of general presidents was called. The conference adopted a "Protest to Congress," which was completely ignored by the Congress then in session. The March conference also adopted an "Address to Organized Labor and Farmers of the Country" which contained these famous words:

"We now call upon the workers of our common country to stand faithfully by our friends, oppose and defeat our enemies, whether they be candidates for President, for Congress or other offices, whether executive, legislative or judicial."

At the time of the 1908 party conventions the American Federation of Labor demands were presented to the platform committees of both parties. The Republicans turned them down, but at the Democratic convention, according to Gompers, "we were received and the plank was placed in

the Democratic platform. The Democratic Party showed us that it was our friend, and that is why we are in this campaign working for the success of the Democratic ticket."

The Labor Representation Committee of the A. F. of L. carried on the actual campaign work from 1906 until 1920 when it was expanded in size to include the entire Executive Council and the Department heads. The Committee was then renamed the National Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the A. F. of L.

The endorsement of the LaFollette-Wheeler Progressive Party ticket in 1924 was done in exactly the same manner as before. This was not a venture into third party politics but non-partisan support of the best candidates on the basis of the record. That year the Republican platform committee turned the A. F. of L. leaders down and, according to the Executive Council report, the Democratic platform committee also "ignored the hopes and ideals and demands of labor."

The Non-Partisan Political Campaign Committee of the A. F. of L. then presented the A. F. of L. requests to the Progressive Party's platform committee. They were accepted there, and that year the A. F. of L. supported the Progressive candidates for President and Vice-President.

UNFORTUNATELY, in the years immediately following Gompers' death, which occurred shortly after the 1924 election, A. F. of L. membership dwindled under the relentless attacks of employer opposition. The political program was not continued. Even during the New Deal days of Franklin Roosevelt, the A. F. of L. itself did not participate in politics, although many of our leaders were very active as individuals.

It took the harsh lessons of the Eightieth Congress elected in 1946 to shock the A. F. of L. convention into forming Labor's League for Political Education. We have now returned to the policy of Gompers.

The experience of Gompers should have taught us a lesson, too. As he reported to the 1917 convention, every demand set forth in labor's 1906 "Bill of Grievances" had been enacted by Congress. That decade saw more beneficial legislation passed than in any other period except the New Deal era.

The successful fight against the "gag rule" on civil servants, the enactment of the LaFollette Seamen's Act, the passage of the Clayton Act which stated that labor was not a commodity to be sold in the marketplace, the establishment of the U.S. Department of Labor, to mention just a few gains, all took place in this period.

Labor took some setbacks in the years that followed, but most of the important laws remained on the books as part of the great legislative heritage that labor's present political program is designed to protect and improve.

When you register and vote for L.L.P.E.-endorsed candidates, when you give a dollar to help elect labor's friends, you are not breaking any of the A. F. of L. traditions. You are doing one of the things for which our unions have been formed.

Unions are formed by working people for their mutual self-protection and welfare. To say that union members can completely protect themselves through collective bargaining with their employers is obviously not sound. A hostile Legislature or administration can cripple or outlaw the right to deal with employers. Today government affects the lives of every one of us to such an extent that we have no choice but to take a position.

Labor's enemies found out a long time ago that they could attack us more easily in the Legislatures than they could on the picket-line. When you hear someone say labor has no business in politics, what he means is that you should leave the field entirely to the National Association of Manufacturers and the special-interest lobbies.

Remember, politicians in a smoke-filled room do not decide they will pass a piece of legislation because it is good for the workers. The incentive for remedial legislation comes from the workers themselves; it comes from the strength of organized labor.

Political education is a legitimate trade union concern. It is your concern as a citizen. For your own sake, register and vote. Give your dollar to join Labor's League for Political Education. In that way you will do your part to elect men who will be concerned for the welfare of all of us.

SECRETARY SCHNITZLER SPEAKS

A. F. OF L. OFFICER'S ADDRESS AS BROADCAST OVER A COAST-TO-COAST RADIO NETWORK

GREETINGS on this Labor Day weekend.

Labor Day is devoted to people. It is a day set aside to honor, among others, those who are in the organization I represent, the American Federation of Labor. The A. F. of L. is not just a labor federation. It is not just something in Washington of which over 9,000,000 persons are members. It is not inanimate. It is a living thing. It's more than 9,000,000 individual men and women, and their families. It's me, and perhaps it's you to whom I am talking right now.

The A. F. of L. is your neighbor. It's the man who made the alarm clock which rouses you in the morning. It's the cabinet-maker who turned out the bed you've slept in, the building tradesmen who built the house you live in. It's the man who brings the milk and the bread in the morning, the bus driver who takes you to work and the children to school, the gasoline attendant who puts gasoline in the car you drive. The A. F. of L. is the men who built our roads and bridges, who keep our trains and trucks rolling and the planes flying. It's the butcher, the baker, the boilermaker—you and those who sit beside you at the ball games, at the movies and in church.

This is the day set aside to honor all you who are working people and your neighbors. This is not a day set aside to celebrate a battle or the end of the war, to remember our dead or a hero. It is the only national day of its kind—a day for people, working people.

We working people have many natural interests together. I'm not speaking about your strictly union interests in wages and working conditions, but in the broader fields of education, housing, social security and civil defense. Whatever we in the A. F. of L. do in these fields we do for *all* the people. When we want better schools, we don't want them just for the children of workers. When we want better housing, safe

and adequate social security, and a nationwide, efficient civil defense system, we want these *for everyone*.

We in the A. F. of L. are proud that we did more than any other group of people in America to set up the compulsory free public education system in this country. We began our fight soon after the nation was established. We sought to do away



WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER

with a situation in which the country depended upon private schools that were beyond the financial reach of working men and women, and the few public schools that existed were open only to the children of parents willing to undergo the indignity of a means test. We knew that a democracy embracing all the people could not survive unless all its children had the opportunity of education. We knew that the families of the common people could not rise in the world and could not serve their country intelligently and maintain a democracy unless education was available to all.

From the beginning of the Nineteenth Century until its last quarter, we fought from public platforms, through the newspapers and the ballot for free, public, compulsory education. We won first in one state and then another, until this battle

was won. But the fight is by no means over. Today the accent on free public education has been more on compulsion and less on education. Too often the school has become a place to which children have to go, rather than something they want to attend.

One of the main causes is that we are not paying teachers salaries high enough to attract those with proper qualifications. True, there are thousands of men and women whose desire to serve is so great that they take the meager wage they are offered. But it is a stark fact that today we need 116,000 more elementary teachers in this country.

Arthur Kull, a 33-year-old World War II veteran, dramatized the situation the other day when he notified his school board in Summit, New Jersey, that he was quitting his high school teaching job to drive a brewery truck. He'll get \$7150 a year driving the truck, compared with the \$4420 a year he was paid for teaching. And Mr. Kull's pay was high compared with the national average. That average, for the 1952-53 school year, even including principals and supervisors, was only \$3530. Teachers, even in New York State, which has a better record than most other states, start at \$58 a week—and they must have a Master of Arts college degree to get that. A stenographer or file clerk can do as well or better.

As you know all too well, we don't have enough school facilities for our children. As a result, schools all over the nation are run on a two-shift or three-shift basis. And many of the schools now standing are not adequate. One child in every three who goes back to school this month will be housed in a building that's a fire hazard. One in every five will go back to a school that has no sewage disposal facilities. One in every six will go to a school that has only outdoor toilets.

Our free public education system has become a disgrace. You who are members of organized labor are called

upon to step into battle again. Join with others in your community to see that school bond issues pass. See that the right people get on your school board. And when the measure to divert funds from the offshore oil and mineral deposits to education again comes before Congress, help see that it passes.

We've got a job to do, too, to meet the housing needs of the nation. Every person in the United States should be able to live in a decent house at a rent he can afford or at a price he can pay. We know from experience that private enterprise has not been able to produce such housing for those in the lower-income brackets. That is why we were so hopeful when the Housing Act of 1949 became a law, authorizing construction of 810,000 low-rent public housing units over a six-year period. And that is why we have been so distressed because the Eighty-third Congress, without even holding public hearings and as a mere rider to an appropriation bill, killed the public housing program.

We're going to need 12,500,000 new homes in the next six years. That's over 2,000,000 a year, and in the most successful years we've never built much more than 1,000,000 units a year. Our population is growing. We need new houses for new families, and we need them to replace the almost 8,000,000 houses that are now substandard, the more than 1,000,000 that will become unlivable in the next six years. We would like to see private enterprise build these needed homes, but the record is against them. The only practical answer is to restore the public housing program.

You should be alerted at this time about a new kind of campaign that has begun developing since Congress killed the public housing program. In city after city we've begun to hear demands that slums be eliminated. We of the A. F. of L. want to see slums eliminated. So long as a single slum remains in the land, we of the United States must hang our heads in shame. Why should any nation that calls itself civilized permit human beings to live in quarters that are often no better than pigsties? We pay the costs of these slums many times over in increased juvenile delinquency, in police and fire protection, in hospital bills, in decreased property values. We should eliminate slums.

But many of those who are now

echoing this challenge are merely setting up a smokescreen. They are crying "slum clearance" but not planning housing for those who are displaced from the slums. Where are these poor people to go? They cannot afford to live in the higher rental districts. They certainly cannot buy homes. The only answer for them is a public housing program, on a city-wide or state basis so long as the federal government has failed us, but on some basis nevertheless. Don't permit your community to carry on a slum clearance program that does not also include public housing.

The American Federation of Labor has also been alarmed at the end of federal rent controls and of the increased rates for government-guaranteed mortgages under the Federal Housing Administration and Veterans' Administration programs. These higher interest rates increase the cost of homes and, we fear, will also mean a reduction in the market for new homes and a decreased volume of building at a time when we need more homes.

Social security is a form of insurance to which working men and

women have been contributing out of their pay envelopes every week. We therefore look with grave concern upon attempts of some Big Business interests to raid the insurance fund set up for the old-age and survivors' insurance system and, under the guise of extending the coverage with the attractive slogan of "pay as you go," to reduce the payments and put them on a dole basis. We are concerned because the chairman of the special Congressional subcommittee set up to review social security is a man who has voted time and again against liberalizing the system and publicly declared himself as against the principle of social insurance.

The social security system needs to be extended to the 3,000,000 employed persons not now covered, and it certainly needs adjustment so that the payments are realistically adjusted to the increased cost of living. I've talked with grocery store managers who tell me about the pitiful old men and women who come in to buy only bread and potatoes. They can't afford more. The other day one chain store manager told me that he asked an aged woman customer if she really

Carpenters Back in Fold

AFTER an absence of less than a month, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners has resumed its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. The union had announced its withdrawal from the Federation on August 12 in a letter handed to A. F. of L. President George Meany at the Chicago meeting of the Executive Council.

On August 24 there was a meeting in Washington between Mr. Meany and Maurice A. Hutcheson, president of the Carpenters, and it was then agreed that there would be a subsequent meeting within two weeks between a committee of the A. F. of L. Executive Council and a committee representing the Carpenters.

On September 8 this meeting was held, and at its close Mr. Meany and Mr. Maurice A. Hutcheson issued the following joint statement:

"A committee representing the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and a committee representing the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America met today at the office of the American Federation of Labor to discuss the problems which led to the withdrawal of the Carpenters from the American Federation of Labor last month.

"The committee unanimously agreed that the elimination of raiding is a step toward unity in the labor movement; that raids in or between the affiliates of the American Federation of Labor, in the past, have brought about disunity within our own ranks; that money spent to resist raids and defend matters brought to the courts by raiding organizations is an expenditure that has a tendency toward disunity rather than unity.

"We also agreed that the American Federation of Labor should adopt some policy definitely designed to prevent raids within our own organization.

"It was agreed by the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor present at this meeting that this statement would be brought to the attention of the Executive Council, at the meeting to be held prior to the convention in St. Louis on the 21st of this month, for the purpose of bringing in a recommendation to the forthcoming convention which, if adopted by the convention, will definitely eliminate raids between A. F. of L. organizations.

"Under these circumstances, the Carpenters' committee informed the officers of the American Federation of Labor that they were continuing their membership in the A. F. of L."

didn't want any more. She was too shamed to admit that she couldn't buy anything else, so she said, "Oh, yes, I'll take a tea bag, please."

Now that the Russians have the hydrogen bomb, we have increased reason to fear the threat of war and to set up a proper national civil defense system. But, as you know, Americans generally are apathetic about the program. Very few are informed. If atomic and hydrogen bombs were to fall tomorrow, only a handful of persons would know what to do. This situation is due in great measure to the failure of Congress to allocate funds for civil defense. The Eighty-third Congress, which has shown itself more interested in a balanced budget than in the lives of the people, even cut these funds drastically.

You who are members of the

A. F. of L. can aid in this emergency. Among our membership are firefighters, health, sanitation and other municipal workers. The A. F. of L. includes transportation and building trades workers, members with the kinds of skills needed in case of enemy attack. Every worker has a special personal interest in the situation if he is in one of the nation's defense plants, warehouses, power plants or railroads. We have the advantage of being organized in communities and states. You who are members of organized labor are called upon to show leadership in your community, to rouse other citizens to their responsibilities, and to see that the nation is so prepared that we suffer a minimum of destruction, of injury and death if enemy atom and hell bombs scream from the skies.

On this Labor Day, 1953, I salute

you members of organized labor who have been an active part of your community in the drives for the American Red Cross, the Heart Fund, the March of Dimes, for CARE and all the other fine causes. I salute those who have been working to better your schools, who have been active in civil defense and who have been doing your part to make politics your business, knowing issues and men, and acting on them. I salute all who have been the kind of citizens that makes this America.

I am speaking today to each of you personally, for you and me, and our neighbors—we are the American Federation of Labor. We are the people for whom Labor Day was set aside and who can today reflect upon what we have done and should do to make this nation freer and more responsive to the needs of our fellow citizens.

PARIS.
EVER since the death of Stalin, world events have been moving swiftly. Within the Soviet Union a new situation has developed which has influenced not only the Soviet orbit but the rest of the world. The death of Stalin has destroyed, at least for the present, the existence of a single unquestioned dictator in the Soviet Union. This has led to an internal fight for power which seems to be raging within the Soviet apparatus. The liquidation of Beria is not only proof of this fact but is in all probability a prelude to further purges and liquidations within the Soviet Empire.

These stresses and strains are not confined to Soviet Russia but have repercussions in Eastern Europe and the Far East. In the absence of a single dictator like Stalin, whose authority was unquestioned and accepted by all in the Soviet Empire, there has now been unleashed a conflict among the candidates for Stalin's succession. This imposes upon the present rulers of the Soviet Union as well as the contenders for power the absolute necessity to seek stability and a period of respite in the tense world situation which for many years has been termed the cold war.

Recent and coming spectacular moves of the Soviet Union concerning foreign policy emphasize more and more the fact that the Soviet Union, through diplomatic moves and its

WHAT'S HAPPENING ACROSS THE OCEAN?

By IRVING BROWN

A. F. of L. Representative in Europe

Cominform agents, is attempting to appear to soften its attitude toward the Western world in addition to an alleged liberalization of the internal regime in the U.S.S.R.

It is quite clear that the Soviets are attempting to seize the initiative and steal the world stage by maneuvering the free world into a defensive position where not to accept their overtures would mean "Western war-mongering," whereas to accept means appeasement and capitulation. The soft reaction of the Western world has already permitted Soviet maneuvers to endanger Allied unity and is increasing the divisions and disagreements between the democratic powers, stimulating especially moves toward appeasement on Korea, Communist China and German rearmament.

The Soviet offensive has made headway and has succeeded in exploiting

and intensifying the real or alleged differences of the West. The May 11 speech of Winston Churchill as well as general British foreign policy today have crystallized all the neutralist and defeatist thinking which has characterized Europe for the past year. There is no question that opinion in some leading circles of Western Europe, especially in France and England, considers American objectives almost as suspiciously as those of the Soviets.

This may be temporary and last only as long as the illusions about Soviet intentions continue. However, the tactics of the Communists are only just beginning to evolve toward what may become a full-blown "popular front" line against the United States.

This atmosphere of Europe is mostly a result of wishful thinking as well as complete fatigue or exhaustion

with the entire cold war which has lasted so long and which has followed a long and devastating war and Nazi occupation. This entire orientation has resulted in a spirit of relaxation which is being transformed into a policy of military retrenchment and diminishing interest in the NATO alliance.

One could almost say that any hope for a European Army or a United Europe is extremely remote and a poor reed upon which to base a foreign policy in the world today. With the death of Stalin and the end of the fighting in Korea, we may be entering a new epoch in which all foreign policy will have to be re-examined and revised.

It is becoming clearer each day that the basic objectives of Western foreign policy which came into being with the Marshall Plan in 1947 are not being achieved and perhaps never will be.

EVENTS in Germany reveal a different side of Europe and its potentials. The June days dealt a smashing blow to the world maneuvers of the Soviet masters. The strikes by plain working people in East Berlin and East Germany may some day be written up by historians as the most important factor in preventing the Soviets from duping the entire free world.

The role played by the American radio, RIAS, was strategic. On June 16 and 17 the constant broadcasts to East Germany resulted in the East German workers following the lead of the striking East Berlin building trades workers of the "Stalin Allee," long touted by the Soviets as their "showplace" in Eastern Germany. The role of RIAS points up the necessity of radio communication and contact with Eastern Germany as well as with all workers in Eastern Europe who are living under the domination of totalitarian dictatorship. It emphasizes the need for a special Radio Free Labor. No other issue was as decisive as the labor question.

The East German workers no longer have any faith in the state company union setup of the Freier Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund. Almost parallel or even dual to the state-controlled unions of the East German government, new shop committees are growing up everywhere.

What is more, the strikes are con-

tinuing. Even as late as the end of July there were over 250,000 workers on strike in Eastern Germany, defying the new and tough Minister of Justice, "Red Hilde" Benjamin, who has issued a new decree banning the right to strike.

An unfortunate aspect of the problem is the fact that the economic situation in West Berlin is very bad. Unemployment amounts to about 25 per cent of the working population. Wages in West Berlin are now lower than in Western Germany. Average rates of pay are running at about 38 cents an hour.

West German industrialists are not placing orders in West Berlin. They show a reluctance or even fear of increasing, too much, their trade with West Berlin. The free trade union leaders in West Berlin urge that everything be done to get work for West Berlin, since the situation is being exploited by the Communists. They especially advocate that the American unions work for special legislation to lower U.S. tariff barriers on the import of products from West Berlin. It is clear that this state of affairs, which tends to weaken the appeal of the West, emphasizes the urgency of action to reduce unemployment in West Berlin.

The explosive June days in East Germany were followed by dramatic August days in France. Several million French workers struck for over three weeks. To strike in August, in France, is in itself a revolution. Most Frenchmen are then either on vacation or planning one.

With unexpected suddenness, the



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French government employees lashed out in a revolt against their adverse economic conditions and also against government leaders whom they suspected, rightly or wrongly, as determined to impose a reactionary program on the country. This combination of economic and political antagonisms brought about the explosion. The fact that the Laniel government's reforms were being directed first against the workers was the spark which ignited the fire.

As in East Germany, the strikes in France started spontaneously in the provinces. The strike wave started from the bottom among the postal, telephone and telegraph workers, 50 per cent of whom receive less than \$72 per month as a basic salary, spreading eventually to other government sectors. Transportation and communication were affected, and in the last two weeks of the strike the nation was almost paralyzed. The Army maintained some communications as well as gas and electricity. The railroads and telephonic, postal and telegraphic communications were shut down tight. Private sectors of industry were practically untouched by the strike directly but were affected indirectly. Most of the workers in the private economy were on vacation.

Although the strike started spontaneously, it was the initiative of the Force Ouvrière leaders that was the major impulse behind the strike and carried it to a more or less successful conclusion. This fact alone demonstrated the role of F.O. as an important factor in France. The Christian trade unions were united with F.O., and the working relations between the two organizations were exceedingly good throughout the strike.

The non-Communist trade union leaders had to maneuver constantly between two dangers. On the one hand, they had to achieve a settlement as quickly as possible in order to prevent the Communist-controlled C.G.T. from transforming the strike into an all-out political assault against the government and eventually into a new "popular front" movement which would deal not only with economic issues but foreign policy. On the other hand, it was essential to achieve some satisfaction for the justified demands of the workers and not to capitulate before the ultimatum of the French government which would have resulted (Continued on Page 32)

The A. F. of L. in St. Louis

By LOUIS J. RENSCHEN and WILLIAM A. WEBB

*President and Executive Secretary, Respectively,
St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union*

THERE are currently some 343 affiliates of the American Federation of Labor in St. Louis and vicinity with a total membership of approximately 164,000. Of this group, 225 locals, paying per capita on more than 100,000 members, belong to the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union. On September 1 the central body observed its sixty-sixth anniversary in the service of the movement.

A novelist or historian could write an exciting tome if he could distill from the matter-of-fact official minutes of our regular meetings over the years all the drama, pathos, humor and struggle they record.

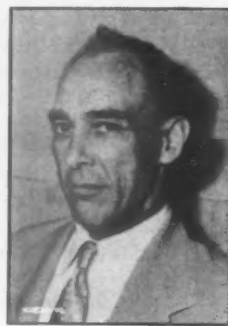
During the past six decades our central body has been something more than the official spokesman of the American Federation of Labor in the area, more than a sounding board, a liaison, a harmonizer for our affiliated locals. The Central Trades and Labor Union is the vibrant character and conscience of organized labor in St. Louis. Our major asset is our good name, the high regard in which the central body is held by our fellow citizens in other walks of public and private life. Ours is a respectable and a respected organization, and it is a valued civic asset.

The St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union has experienced its largest growth over the past fifteen years. Passage of the Wagner Act and the challenges of the ensuing years gave organized labor an opportunity to prove its mettle. And in St. Louis we tried to make the best of the opportunities for organizing and for educating our union members as well as in public relations designed to make friends for the organized labor movement.

The top central body officers—namely, the full-time executive secretary and the president—fortunately



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were young men with guts and experience. From 1936 to 1946 our president was Joseph P. Clark, now the secretary-treasurer of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers. Our executive secretary from 1941 to the spring of 1953 was John I. Rollings, who recently was elected president of the Missouri State Federation of Labor. Brother Rollings did a magnificent job as executive secretary of the central body.

Louis J. Renschen, secretary-treasurer of the Retail Store Employees,

Local 655, succeeded President Clark in 1946 and has been re-elected ever since. Last June, William A. Webb, a business representative of the State, County and Municipal Employees' District Council and for twenty-one years a member and officer of the Fire Fighters, Local 73, was elected to succeed Executive Secretary Rollings.

When World War II broke out, the St. Louis central body brought forth the plan of buying war bonds through payroll savings. The central body had this plan in operation, and later it was adopted by the U.S. Treasury Department for national use. Our affiliated unions and their members bought more than \$150,000,000 worth of war bonds during the emergency.

A number of officers of the central body served on the War Labor Board and in other important government posts. The St. Louis labor movement



Downtown business district of the Missouri metropolis

made a major contribution in the recruitment of skilled workers for vital war industries in other sections of the country and for service organizations like the Navy's Seabees. The central body sold the idea to its affiliates of full participation in the Community Chest, the Red Cross, the March of Dimes and similar drives.

As living costs shot ahead of frozen wages in spite of OPA efforts, the central body undertook a survey to get living cost facts by using its members as shoppers at the chain stores and supermarkets to determine the retail prices of foodstuffs. Then it dug up prewar advertisements from local newspaper files. Low prewar and high wartime prices were offered as proof that higher wages were overdue. Later labor nationally made effective use of this method of comparison. The present more inclusive method of Bureau of Labor Statistics compilations was advocated by our central body almost a decade ago.

Incidentally, thanks to our hard-working members who sat as labor's representatives on the Regional War Labor Board, thousands of wage-earners in our five-state area obtained higher wage adjustments, comparatively, than in other areas.

During the war the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union worked hard to cut down absenteeism. While the national average of man-days lost through worker absenteeism was one-tenth of one per cent, the St. Louis average was only one-twentieth of one per cent. More than thirty plants under the American Federation of Labor banner won the coveted Army-Navy "E."

The central body conducted a survey to determine how many St. Louis union members were in the armed services and how many were killed in action. The study disclosed that 30,000 men and women, out of our then 120,000 A. F. of L. membership in St. Louis, were in uniform. The central body encouraged the sending of letters and gift packages to the men and women in uniform. Affiliated unions were urged to prepare for their discharge from service and to help them to get their old jobs back with all the benefits to which they were entitled.

There was much anti-labor propaganda during the war and early post-war years. To prove that the work stoppage propaganda was greatly ex-



St. Louis labor movement has been strong in political education. It takes register-to-vote story to people right on city's streets

aggerated, the St. Louis Central Trades undertook a survey in 1947. This showed that 98.4 per cent of 12,865 union contracts covering 139,032 members in the area had been directly negotiated without strikes and that the number of man-days lost through strikes, compared with the number of man-days worked, was only one-half of one per cent.

In the field of political action the A. F. of L. movement of St. Louis has been successful. In spite of changing national trends, approved candidates have won consistently and by large majorities. The two Senators from Missouri, Thomas C. Hennings and Stuart Symington, were unanimously backed by St. Louis workers, and they won with many votes to spare.

St. Louis labor formed a political action organization, the Federation for Economic and Political Education of Greater St. Louis, in 1946. Labor's League for Political Education came on the scene a year later. F.E.P.E. was a going concern in 1947 and functionally fitted right into the L.L.P.E. pattern.

With the encouragement of the central body, St. Louis University opened a Labor College in 1942. Many of our business representatives and other top local union officers enrolled to take courses. The Rev. Leo C. Brown, a nationally known labor arbitrator, headed this school.

When Taft-Hartley became law in 1947, the central body asked the Labor College to conduct special classes to show our business representatives what they could do and could not do under the new act. More than 140 of

our business agents took that course and profited from it. The central body also published and distributed a booklet entitled "150 Questions and Answers About the Taft-Hartley Act." This handbook was hailed as one of the best of its kind.

When a hostile Missouri Legislature passed an omnibus labor law designed to hobble unions, the St. Louis central body raised \$30,000 to challenge the constitutionality of a clause which forbade picketing. Later the central body aided the State Federation of Labor in persuading a succeeding Legislature to repeal the law.

THE St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union has done many other things. It initiated a test case to determine the constitutionality of the time-off-for-voting law which the U.S. Supreme Court eventually upheld. The central body also initiated and led the fight under which the spurious "right to work" bill sponsored by the State Chamber of Commerce was killed by the House Committee early this year.

The Central Trades and Labor Union plays an important role in matters of civic welfare and improvement, and its representatives inevitably are found serving on committees, boards and other groups dealing with such matters.

The latest activity of the central body is working with other educational and civic groups to give St. Louis an educational television outlet. Construction of the station and the possession of a channel will provide the area (Continued on Page 33)

The Profits Picture

Business is certainly doing all right for itself.

In twenty out of twenty-two industry groups, profits—after taxes—are higher this year than in 1952.

And tax rates for companies will soon be lowered

By SEYMOUR BRANDWEIN

Staff Economist, American Federation of Labor

THOSE corporation reports summarized in small type in the financial sections of every day's papers add up to a tale of booming profits. With few exceptions, industry is enjoying marked gains in profits. And the outlook is for continued whopping profits even if there should be a slight falling off in business.

This is being obscured somewhat by the understandable concern over scattered signs of business downturns. Granted that we must be on guard for signs of weakness and take prompt steps to counteract them, the fact remains that current profits are so sizable that a moderate slackening would still leave them at an enviable level.

Profit figures are now available for the first half of 1953. Business economists say that the picture presented by the half-year figures won't be materially altered when the returns are in for the latter half of the year. Here's how the picture shapes up:

Profits are soaring. Surveys by private financial reporting sources show that profits for the first half of 1953 are averaging, *after taxes*, 15 to 20 per cent more than in the same period in 1952. The rise reported varies according to how many and which companies were surveyed, but each survey covered at least several hundred of the key corporations in all industries.

Standard and Poor's, for example, found an average rise of 16.2 per cent, and the National City Bank's survey showed one of 17 per cent.

The result is record levels for total profits. The government's Council of Economic Advisers has estimated that profits before taxes in the second quarter of 1953, which were running higher than those in the first quarter,

were at the rate of \$44.6 billion for the year. The annual rate after taxes is \$20.4 billion.

These totals mean that 1953 pre-tax profits will be greater than in any other year in history. After taxes profits will rank second only to 1950. That was the fabulous profit year when corporations had a triple windfall from the Korean outbreak. They cashed in on increased demand from scare buying and defense needs and jacked up their prices before controls, even though their costs had not risen proportionately. All the while they were still paying taxes at the low pre-Korean rates. As compared with the World War II years, 1953's profits will be double what they were then, whether measured before or after taxes.

Fortune, the business executives' magazine, describes this year's profits with such phrases as "banner year for profits . . . peak profits . . . bigger profit margins yield a record corporate net." Its estimates of what the full-year picture will show are even higher than those of the cautious preliminary government statistics.

Fortune says that "corporate profits after taxes in the second quarter [of 1953] were running at an estimated annual rate of \$21.5 billion—the highest in two years and, in one sense, the highest ever. Though reported net earnings were higher in three previous quarterly periods (third and fourth quarters of 1950 and first quarter of 1951), a substantial portion of those earnings were attributable to paper profits on inventories."

"Operating profits this year have climbed," the magazine adds, "to a new record rate of more than \$46 billion—nearly 6 per cent higher than

ever before. Even with today's heavier taxes, these profits produce a bigger net profit rate—if inventory profits are stripped out—than at any previous time except the fourth quarter of 1950. For 1953 as a whole, corporations will earn more than \$20 billion of real profits—after deducting both taxes and the replacement cost of inventories—and this will top any past year."

For many companies profits are even higher than they seem. It must be kept in mind that profits of many firms handling defense-connected work are often understated. Such companies have had special tax privileges authorizing them to charge off the cost of their plants and equipment in an unusually short time. These "accelerated depreciation expenses" go on the company books as heavy expenses and are far greater than warranted by actual depreciation. The result is an artificially lowered profit figure.

Almost all industries are sharing in the over-all profit rises. The National City Bank survey found that twenty out of twenty-two industry groups registered increases in profits after taxes in the first half of 1953 over the same period of 1952. The exceptions were the drug industry, which slipped down in the survey by 1 per cent (as the initial rush on many wonder drugs eased a bit), and the mining industry, where profits declined by 8 per cent.

One of the industries which had been in a slump, textiles, recovered somewhat. The survey found that total profits of twenty-four of its leading companies rose 34 per cent. Among other notable gains registered in the survey were 10 per cent in the service and amusement industries, 14

per cent in chemical products, 21 per cent in food products, 23 per cent in building, heating and plumbing equipment, 27 per cent in various metal products industries and 33 per cent in retail and wholesale trade.

WILL these high profits rise, continue at the same level or drop? Business spokesmen are naturally not rushing into print with predictions that profits will mount even higher. It seems that record profits have an uncanny knack of producing pessimistic general forecasts.

The publicized attitude of a large segment of industry is typified by the comment of the conservative *U.S. News and World Report*.

"Business, over all, is so good that it cannot get much better," says that publication. "The only place it has to go is down."

How far down? Well, says *U.S. News and World Report*, there is "some disagreement about how severe the adjustment from boom to more normal business is likely to be. The dominant view is that it will be moderate, not drastic. The general level of activity may slip about 10 per cent on the average—more in some fields, less in others."

The National City Bank's *Monthly Letter* reads the economic indicators with a more optimistic eye:

"The demand for goods and services which supported trade and industrial activity during the spring has shown few signs of faltering. * * * The signs, however, are more indicative of a leveling out or a spotty slackening, such as the expected seasonal drop in automobiles, rather than any general decline."

When individual businessmen have been polled on expectations of their companies, they have generally said that their own prospects are fine. A survey of 1,281 executives by Dun and Bradstreet; for example, has found that 45 per cent expect their companies' profits to be higher in the fourth quarter of 1953 than in the same period of last year and another 39 per cent say they think profits will hold steady. Only 16 per cent guess that their profits in the latter part of 1953 will decline from 1952.

What's more, profits are going to be taxed at lower rates. This is a significant reason why most industry can look forward to another excellent year to add to the current profit bonanza.

Most companies with top-flight profit records have a real profit bonus in prospect.

If all goes as scheduled, the excess profits tax, which skimmed off some of the extra-heavy profit cream, will expire on January 1. It seems most unlikely that Congress will have a change of heart and retain this tax or some comparable levy on corporate profits. Also, the normal tax on corporation earnings is to be cut from 30 per cent to 25 per cent starting next April, providing another substantial boost to profits.

If companies with large earnings in 1953 merely maintain their sales, let alone increase them, their profits in 1954 will probably be enlarged at least 10 to 20 per cent, and in many cases far higher, solely as a result of

these tax cutbacks. The U.S. Treasury has estimated that the scheduled reductions in taxes on corporate profits will reduce tax receipts at the rate of \$4 billion a year and apparently increase corporation profits by at least that amount. With this handy cushion to soften any downturn from a falling-off in sales, the odds are very much against our seeing a general drop in profits.

The only flaw in the picture for industry would be a rapidly diminishing demand. Here the answer lies very much with industry itself. The soundest way of assuring continued high and profitable industrial activity would be to increase wage-earner purchasing power to absorb the full output of a growing and prosperous economy.

Slavery Behind the Curtain

HUNGARY

Further evidence of satellite unrest is seen in a report that 28,000 Hungarian armament workers employed in the rolling mills and foundries at Csepel went on strike in protest against the regime's slave-driving system. Special squads of secret police are said to have arrested 600 of the demonstrating workers.

The Hungarian regime has just announced that "loyalty bonuses" will be paid to workers in the coal, ore and bauxite mining industries. Miners who don't miss a single shift receive the full bonus. Those who miss one shift get only half.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In Czechoslovakia a different technique is used to promote "workers' loyalty." For missing work one day without a valid excuse, two days are deducted from the annual leave of employees of the Loucovice paper works; for two days missed, four days of vacation are lost. Workers who miss more than two days are denounced to the public prosecutor.

POLAND

The combination of harder work and lower pay is causing widespread discontent among Polish workers. This is admitted by the president of the Communist-controlled Polish

Metal Workers Union, Jozef Bien. He blames the agitation on the increased output norms which recently were introduced.

Some 47,000 women, one-fifth of all mine workers in the country, are employed in Poland's mining industry. The Miners Trade Union Conference admits that 2,600 of these women are employed underground and says a further 2,500 will be recruited during the present year. The Communist labor organization offers no apologies for employing women underground, a practice outlawed by the I.L.O.

EAST GERMANY

A wave of new arrests is reported in connection with the workers' revolt of June 17. The Communists have announced that one alleged leader of the uprising, Gerhard Romer, has been sentenced to life imprisonment. It is reported that 2,300 workers at the electric motor works at Wernigerode continue to engage in sitdown strikes in protest against the arrest of fourteen fellow-workers.

BULGARIA

Bulgarian workers receive only 70 per cent of their normal wages when production is interrupted by power failures or mechanical breakdowns. A worker is expected to notify the management in advance of all causes which might halt his work.

APPRENTICESHIP'S PLACE IN A FREE SOCIETY

By JAMES A. BROWNLOW

President, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

APPRENTICESHIP is a desirable and time-tested institution. Industrial and social conditions undergo changes. New trades evolve and old ones disappear. The customs and practices surrounding apprenticeship may change. But the essential relationship of the apprentice to the craftsman remains.

The ancients found it desirable to recognize the social values in apprenticeship. One of the earliest known codifications of laws—the Babylonian code of Hammurabi—made provisions covering the teaching of the crafts.

Throughout the centuries apprenticeship remained a reliable system by which the arts and crafts were taught to youths by their elders. Our American roots in apprenticeship go back to the days of the early English craftsmen and their craft guilds. In his book, "New Views on Apprenticeship," W. McLaine, assistant general secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union from 1938 to 1946, says:

"With many phases of our economic and social life, arrangements which begin because they satisfy the wishes of an increasing number of people become organized by some kind of association formed by these people and reach their maturity under state auspices. Apprenticeship was such an arrangement."

Apprenticeship began because it satisfied the employers who wished to be assured of competent craftsmen. It satisfied the boys who wanted to learn a trade and the parents who wanted their sons to be trained to earn a living.

The English guilds adopted apprenticeship for the benefit of their members. In 1563 the state gave of-



MR. BROWNLOW

ficial recognition to the system in the Statute of Artificers. That statute remained in effect until 1814. During this period the guilds declined, and under the English poor laws apprenticeship suffered grave abuses. Finally, the coming of the factory system changed the old apprentice-and-master relationships.

The beginnings of modern industry gave rise to a need for new skills. With the increasing use of machinery, "engineering"—as the mechanical trades are called in England—became more and more important. The machinist's trade was new then, and there were no craftsmen available.

James Watt, of steam engine fame, had to train his own men—and many of his apprentices were adults. Mathew Boulton, whom Watt joined, had some skilled metal workers at his Soho works, but they were not machinists. Aside from this, there were millwrights who could work with wood and hammered iron and mould-

ers to make engine castings. The machinists had to be trained from scratch.

When our European forebears came to the New World, they brought the European traditions of apprenticeship with them. From the times of those Colonial craftsmen—Paul Revere, the silver and copper smith, and Benjamin Franklin, the printer—right down to today, apprenticeship has proved its worth in America as a means of learning a skilled trade.

It is significant that, through all the ages, apprenticeship as an institution has survived because it provides a unique combination of technical training and practical work by which the apprentice achieves recognition as a journeyman in his craft.

For a considerable number who enter their working life through this route, journeymanhood is only the beginning. Today in the United States there are thousands of men prominent in our industrial life who began their careers as apprentices in a machine shop, on a construction job or in some other trade.

A study was recently made covering the five-year experience of a large Wisconsin industrial plant with its apprenticeship system. It disclosed that of those who had completed apprenticeships there during the preceding half-century, fifty-five now hold jobs as plant superintendents, department heads, foremen or assistant foremen. Seventy-one other graduates of the company's trade apprenticeship program are now in administrative jobs or are working as engineers, sales servicemen or subcontracting personnel. This study provides a clear indication of the value of apprentice training as a basis for future advancement.

While all A. F. of L. craft unions in this country have long shown a deep interest in the training of apprentices, there have been a number of economic and sociological factors which, in the past, adversely affected the development of apprenticeship in the United States.

The reliance on immigration of foreign labor, the advent of the mass production era after World War I, the depression of the late Twenties and early Thirties all helped to create a condition of shortage in apprentice training and a neglect of apprenticeship by industry.

As a consequence, representatives of organized labor and industry became greatly concerned about the status of apprenticeship in this country in 1937. They asked Congress to do something about it. The American Federation of Labor and several of its constituent unions took a leading part in that move.

Following a series of public hearings, Congress passed the Fitzgerald Act, now commonly known as the

National Apprenticeship Act. It authorized the Secretary of Labor to take action to establish standards to safeguard the welfare of apprentices, to bring labor and management together to set up apprentice training programs and to cooperate with the various states engaged in a similar action.

In order to give administrative direction to this program, the Bureau of Apprenticeship was established in the Department of Labor.

Prior to the passage of the Fitzgerald Act, the federal government had concerned itself with apprenticeship problems during the depression of the early Thirties. In 1934 a committee was appointed under the authority of the National Recovery Act to advise the Secretary of Labor in connection with the labor provisions of the codes of fair competition affecting apprentice training.

That committee, which is known as the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, continued to function in a similar advisory capacity to the Secretary

of Labor and the federal apprenticeship activity after the passage of the Fitzgerald Act. The membership of the committee is composed of national representation from labor, management and government. The present writer is a member of the committee representing the American Federation of Labor.

Nineteen years have passed since the federal government officially embarked on its program to promote apprentice training under sound standards embodying joint participation by labor and management. In that space of time the total number of publicly registered apprentices has grown steadily. Up to the beginning of 1953, more than 160,000 of our American youth had received their completion certificates, attesting to the fact that they had completed their training under standards established by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship. An additional 150,000 are still in training today under these standards.

The national apprenticeship pro-



THE TRAINING of the skilled craftsmen of tomorrow has been of deep interest for a great many years to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions. Labor believes in apprenticeship under sound standards and with the joint participation of labor and management. At present 150,000 young Americans are learning their trades under standards established by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship

gram, as established by its founders, rests upon a basis of voluntary cooperation by labor and management, assisted by the government. The responsibility for providing an adequate corps of skilled craftsmen and technicians to staff our future industrial needs rests primarily with industry—with labor and management. The government's part in this cooperative enterprise is to promulgate standards, to provide stimulation and technical assistance—to help industry get the job done.

This undertaking has the strong support of the American Federation of Labor. Organized labor firmly believes in the value of cooperation with management in doing the best possible job of training the apprentices needed by our industrial enterprises. That job will not be completed until every journeyman entering the ranks of skilled labor has served an apprenticeship under standards jointly approved by management and labor.

The voluntary basis of our national apprenticeship program in the United States is a challenge to American industry—to management and to organized labor. Such a system could not operate behind the Iron Curtain.

This is not to say that apprentices are not being trained behind the wall of Communistic imperialism. We know that another dictator, Hitler by name, had nearly a million apprentices in training at the beginning of World War II. It is safe to assume that in the Iron Curtain countries at least this many youths are now being trained in the skills required by their military economies.

Apprenticeship is making a valuable contribution to our industrial mobilization plans. No plan for expanding our industrial facilities can be complete without planning for the training of a corps of competent craftsmen and mechanics to create and staff such facilities.

Apprentice training helps to provide the kind of skills needed directly by the armed forces in carrying out their military duties. This fact is attested to by the recognition given by the armed forces to apprentice completion certificates in many trades—in military assignments and ratings.

Apart from the values to our preparedness program, the serving of an apprenticeship under publicly recognized standards has a basic economic

and social value to the individual apprentice, to organized labor, to industry and to our nation as a whole.

It is a form of education that cannot be duplicated in any classroom because apprenticeship is a live and vital part of the industrial process itself. The apprentice becomes a producer early in his career. He returns "value received" to our economy for the money and effort spent in training him. This return will bear a direct relationship to the adequacy of the standards under which the apprentice is being trained. Where the standards are high, the returns will be high. When the standards are indifferent or low, the returns will be substantially less.

As our country has progressed from an agricultural society to one that is highly industrialized, the American worker has proved his versatility. Through apprenticeship he has learned new skills. Through our



vocational schools he has acquired new technical knowledge to meet the challenge of each new day.

Let us not be smug, however, nor "wise in our own conceits." For we can do more and better in providing training for our youth under the national apprenticeship program. We have made a good start in the past fifteen years. We must redouble our efforts in the years ahead.

We are on the right road. It is not the road of regimentation but rather the road of cooperation—a cooperation born of the realization that skill is the one thing in which the free world has a chance to match the resources of those who challenge our way of life. In raw manpower the foe can outmatch us five to one.

How can we best pit the strength of a free world against the forces of

tyranny? First, by maintaining a spirit of devotion to freedom. Second, by making ourselves preeminently strong. But our strength must be a strength resting upon skill, rather than upon mere numbers.

With Communistic imperialism on the march in every quarter of the globe, the importance of our skilled workers to our armed might must be recognized. However, there are a few who still seem to feel that this nation's technical leadership rests solely upon scientific and engineering know-how. That notion is erroneous. The ability of our craftsmen and skilled mechanics must be combined with the knowledge of our scientists and designers in order to produce the tools and armaments needed to defend our way of life. To halt the spread of Communistic serfdom, we who are free must work together in the field of apprenticeship as in all other phases of our industrial life.

The American Federation of Labor subscribes fully to the program of apprenticeship. This is in keeping with the traditional A. F. of L. policy of supporting any program that is in the interests of improving the standards under which citizens work and live. Apprenticeship is one of those standards, and we must preserve it as one of the priceless possessions of a worker in a free country.

There is another and a deep concern on the part of the American Federation of Labor in its relation to apprenticeship. We believe in and insist on equality of opportunity. We do not subscribe to the theory that apprenticeship should be confined to people of any one race, creed or color. The citizens and the skilled workmen of our nation are composed of people of all races and creeds. Our apprentices must be from the same groups as our journeymen. America cannot continue to grow strong and vigorous by limiting the opportunities of some part of its people.

We have contributed much to the cause of freedom in all parts of the world. We cannot expect the youth of our country to give their all in the interest of liberty for others and then have it denied to them here at home.

Our labor movement, which has never faltered in its support of free nations fighting oppressors, will continue to insist that the right of a citizen to liberty and self-determination will ever be cherished.

The Nation's School Problem

By **CARL J. MEGEL**

President, American Federation of Teachers

EDUCATION has had no finer friend than the American labor movement. Our school system owes a great debt of gratitude to American labor for its help and support. But American labor has had to fight every inch of the way to set up and to obtain the school system we now have.

Today America's schools are in desperate need. For the past twenty years we have done little for our schools except to watch their slow deterioration. During the period of the greatest economic expansion in our history, we have neglected our schools. The result is that this September millions of boys and girls are attending school in old, worn-out buildings, wilting in overcrowded classrooms and being taught by underpaid and overworked teachers.

Viewing this picture, last month's convention of the American Federation of Teachers called the American labor movement the strongest single factor to correct the situation by creating a powerful and insistent public demand for an educational system where all youth may have equal opportunity. The convention summed up the current problems faced by public schools all over the country as follows:

"Increasingly large class-loads. Hopelessly inadequate buildings, old, crowded, poorly equipped and frequently ugly. Continued addition of new and useful services with no provision for added time or personnel. Part-day schooling for many elementary children. Insufficient materials of every kind. An alarming teacher shortage caused by lack of a sense of personal and professional dignity, poor working conditions, low salaries and lack of public recognition of the value of service given."

These conditions have so undermined America's schools that American democracy is also in grave danger. You cannot maintain a democratic society unless you have intelligent citizens. You cannot have an intelligent society unless you have

adequate educational opportunities for the boys and girls of America. This means not only fine buildings but, more important, happy, well-qualified school teachers.

These teachers must be free to explore every avenue of scientific and cultural advancement. They must be permitted to teach the truth and to



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instill in the hearts of boys and girls a desire to advance our democratic way of life. Only in such an atmosphere can democracy flourish. Only in this type of atmosphere can a free labor movement grow.

Teachers cannot do this job alone. They must have the concerted support of the greatest democratic force in America, the free labor movement.

It was the intention of the American Federation of Teachers at last month's Peoria convention to bring to the labor movement a better understanding of the fact that attacks upon American education strike at the very roots of the labor movement—to bring an understanding that if American education were allowed to perish, the labor movement likewise would cease to exist.

Today our school system is in a

state of distress from public neglect. More than 350,000 qualified teachers have quit teaching in the last ten years because of poor pay and unsatisfactory conditions. The schools are now short 200,000 qualified teachers. Average pay for teachers is only \$3310 before income tax. And working conditions are often unbelievably bad.

It would take over \$14 billion to provide all the new school buildings we now need. Federal aid for education is the only possible method of adequate school financing. The federal government is the only agency that can provide the necessary additional school funds. Local property taxes are about as high as they can reasonably be. More state aid is possible but cannot begin to provide enough money to rehabilitate the school system.

If school expenditures this year were 10 per cent of the total national income, as in 1932, we would have \$19 billion for schools instead of the \$5.5 billion actually spent, and this country would then have the finest educational system the world has ever known.

Farmers get subsidies of all kinds. Subsidies are received by business, railroads, oil and gas companies. Now education needs help.

Most school superintendents and principals are trying to do a good job, but too many take the "easy" way out. They crowd more and more boys and girls into already overcrowded classrooms of already overworked teachers, instead of taking leadership in trying to find a solution.

Inept school administrators harass, discriminate against and discharge teachers to force submission to their autocratic dictates. As Irvin R. Kuenzli, secretary-treasurer of the A. F. of T., told the convention, "American teachers are less secure in their jobs than in any other large country outside the Iron Curtain." He urged protective (Continued on Page 35)

EDITORIALS

by George Meany

Three Basic Facts

AS THE TIME nears for the opening of the seventy-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor, these facts should be held uppermost in mind by all devoted trade unionists:

(1) The free American way of life, without which our trade union movement cannot hope to exist or expand, stands in mortal danger of attack by the forces of Communist aggression, which have subjugated all workers behind the Iron Curtain to the lowest depths of slavery.

(2) Our first obligation is to our country. We must do everything in our power to make America strong and to protect the free way of life which means so much to all of us.

(3) Nothing could hurt America more in the critical days ahead than an economic depression. Delegates should therefore weigh each policy and decision in the light of its contribution to an economy of plenty and to an increasingly higher standard of life for the American people.

It is our firm conviction that the free trade union movement must play a major role in the defense program. Let us therefore do everything in our power at the forthcoming convention to strengthen and unite the forces of labor, to promote the cause of progress and to keep our movement free of any influence which might reflect on our high standing in the community and our high purpose for the betterment of the human race.

Task for the U.N.

THE NEWS that Soviet Russia has exploded a hydrogen device and therefore possesses the secret of the H-bomb should spur renewed efforts by the United Nations to work out some effective disarmament program.

It is true that the diplomatic representatives of the Kremlin have thus far stymied and confounded all disarmament proposals with the kind of hypocritical double-talk in which they specialize.

But now that they know for themselves the terrible potentialities of the hydrogen bomb, perhaps

the Communist dictators at last will listen to common-sense appeals to save the human race from the mass slaughter which would be inevitable with atomic warfare.

Our military leaders concede that when and if the Kremlin decides to attack the United States, it could kill millions of American men, women and children and wipe out whole cities with a single atomic air raid, regardless of any defense preparations which we can now erect.

At the same time, however, Malenkov and his associates must realize that if they attempt such an attack, America can and will retaliate with raids of our own which would overnight reduce every industrial center in European Russia to ashes.

Aside from humane considerations, which we doubt would have any effect on the Communists, the hard fact of such a military stalemate should make them pause and glimpse the truth that they are proceeding pell-mell toward their own destruction as well as worldwide destruction.

To save themselves, if for no other reason, the Communists should now be willing to sit down with the representatives of the free world to work out an effective and enforceable agreement for the banning of any and all atomic weapons from future wars or aggressions. The Communists would have more to gain than to lose from such an agreement, because America is still far ahead of them in the atomic weapons race and has the means to stay ahead.

Surely, it is worth another try.

Danger Ahead

GOVERNMENT reports issued in connection with Labor Day indicate that American wage-earners are better off at this time than ever before in history. Employment stood at 63,408,000, a high record. At the same time unemployment had been reduced to 1,240,000, which is comparatively light. Earnings of factory workers hit a high mark. Wages of union workers were surging far ahead of the national average. Strikes

were few and far between. Yet, with all these encouraging developments, there were other factors in the picture which point to danger ahead.

The cost-of-living figures are now at an all-time peak and threatening to go even higher. Gains in wages do little good to American families when they are eaten up by inflationary increases in prices.

New hiring by factories fell to the lowest rate since 1949. The Department of Labor said this decline indicated a "leveling-off in the trend in factory employment." Cutbacks in production for national defense, due to the cessation of hostilities in Korea and to heavy slashes in the budget, may accelerate this trend in the immediate future.

Already, manpower surpluses are developing. The government reported that in July an increasing number of workers were available for jobs, the "first such loosening reported in nearly a year and a half."

Thus, even at a time when the national economy appears to be at its strongest, we must be on guard against possible tendencies toward a recession.

Some economists are troubled by the drop in farm income and by the tumble of stock market prices in Wall Street.

Labor firmly believes that America need have no fears if it continues to look forward instead of backward. Our country still faces a big backlog of unfinished business. Millions of families still are forced to live in slums, which can and should be eradicated. To end the housing shortage, we need to embark on a program of constructing 12,000,000 new homes in the next six years. Our schools are in a tragic state of neglect and require a vast program of new construction to provide safe and modern schoolrooms for the nation's children.

All these and many more vital programs, which have been postponed for years because of war and defense emergencies, can provide jobs for millions of workers and give private industry a big lift if and when the general level of industrial activity begins to slacken.

All in all, the facts prove that national prosperity can be maintained and even extended if the leaders of government and industry take advantage of the big opportunities for progress ahead.

The International Labor Organization

By GEORGE P. DELANEY

A. F. of L. International Representative

AMERICAN foreign policy is concerned with the direction of great and often imponderable world forces and the resolution of complex and weighty issues. In the pursuit of our interests abroad, we must not forget that the sum total of those forces and issues is made up of individual human beings whose jobs, livelihoods, living conditions, security and freedom are at stake. Their needs, aspirations and problems should be the constant objects of our concern.

Poverty, ignorance and fear are the natural enemies of men of every nationality. Those adversaries have no respect for boundary lines or for natural or artificial barriers between states. Concerted international action is therefore essential to victory for the forces of humanity.

Faith alone is not sufficient to guarantee the salvation of democracy and

freedom. Pious testaments of devotion to the precepts of human liberty will avail us little unless matched by good works performed in its name. Our faith must be accompanied by such works and by concrete accomplishments for the betterment of conditions of life and labor.

Through the instrument of tripartite participation, with representatives of workers and employers serving as both a goad and a check upon it, the International Labor Organization has evolved as a practical, workable formula for international collaboration to this end. Our continued full and active participation in the International Labor Organization is essential.

No matter how strong and permanent they may appear at the top, international alliances and friendships cannot be relied upon to endure where they are weak and insubstantial at the

lower levels. In doing our share to promote the work of the I.L.O. we are helping to demonstrate our concern for the freedom and the welfare of the many as well as the few. In so doing we offer to the free peoples of the world the most lasting and vital aid that lies within our power—helping them to help themselves to elevate their own conditions, through their own efforts, by methods of their own free choice.

The International Labor Organization provides the best forum that I know of for the dramatic presentation of proof of our concern for and friendship with the peoples of other lands. In that forum—if they are so disposed—American employers, workers and government representatives can demonstrate in a practical way to the industrial and agricultural workers of all countries that they are working (Continued on Page 31)



MR. HAYES

A Warning on AIRPOWER

By A. J. HAYES

President, International Association of Machinists

FIFTY years ago the Wright brothers pinned wings upon mankind and revolutionized the ways of peace and the methods of war. Today, even as we celebrate the golden anniversary of flight, we are called upon to determine whether our airpower shall soar to the heights of which it is capable or whether, weighed down by the ballast of ignorance and pettiness, it will be forced to hedge-hop—gaining altitude to surmount each passing national crisis, then being dragged down again to skim the surface.

We of the International Association of Machinists have our roots deep in aviation. Five of the seven mechanics who built the Langley Aerodrome were members of the Machinists' Union. From that time on, our roots have spread until today the Machinists' Union represents two-thirds of all employees in the aircraft industry.

I am not writing, however, on behalf of a special-interest group. Rather I am writing as an American who is deeply concerned with his country's safety in these turbulent times and whose job brings him face to face with the impact of our changing defense policies upon the lives and morale of the men and women who produce aircraft—our first line of defense.

As a citizen I believe that if we are to be strong in our defense of peace and freedom, we must have an Air

Force of sufficient strength and efficiency to:

▶Give a potential aggressor pause in any plan to attack us or any of our allies.

▶Fend off any air blow undertaken by such an aggressor for the purpose of crippling our military potential.

▶Retaliate immediately and decisively.

We must have an Air Force tailored to the needs of our defense. I am convinced that we must proceed toward our goal of adequate airpower steadily and according to a predetermined plan.

WE CANNOT longer afford—we never could afford—the vacillation that has marked our course over the past eight years. We must face realities—not the realities of politics, which compromise principles to satisfy pressure groups or woo constituents with promises of tax reductions—but the stern, cold realities of a world whose peace is constantly threatened by a dictatorship with an insatiable lust for power.

We must not sell our birthright of independent strength for the pottage of false economy. Now, don't get me wrong. I am in favor of economy. And one of the best ways I know to practice economy in the field of airpower is to end for all time the shifts in policy which start a project today, abandon it six months from now and reactivate it a year later.

There is waste for you—the tragic waste of indecision!

In March, 1951, the old B-29 plant at Marietta, Georgia, was reopened for the production of B-47's. As it has done in many other cases, the International Association of Machinists helped recruit the staff of journeymen who comprise the small but essential core of any aircraft plant.

Subsequently we became the bargaining representative of all the employees in the plant. As such, we have been constantly aware of the hardships incurred by employees who traveled long distances—sometimes with their families—to take jobs at Marietta.

Many of them had to live in trailers or temporary and inadequate housing before they finally managed to find suitable dwellings in the now booming community. Then, just as the employees were getting settled down, word came that the Secretary of Defense was considering closing the plant.

It doesn't take much imagination to conceive the state of mind of the employees in that plant. It doesn't take much imagination to figure the effects on their work.

I understand that there is a high turnover rate among employees in the aircraft industry. I have heard it said that productivity in the industry is not all that it should be. Is that any wonder? What employee wants to jeopardize (Continued on Page 33)



The Pan-Pacific Auditorium in Los Angeles will be the scene of 1954 edition of labor's exposition

The Fiesta Spirit Will Mark Next Union Industries Show

By **RAYMOND F. LEHENEY**
Secretary, Union Label and Service Trades Department

SPRINKLE a touch of Old World glamour to a movie-studio-type of auditorium, add a bit of that famous sunny California climate mixed with a scattering of world-famous motion picture, radio and television stars, and you come up with an ideal and unique setting for the "World's Greatest Labor-Management Exhibition"—the A. F. of L. Union Label Industries Show.

The above-mentioned ingredients are at this very moment being combined to make the 1954 show, which will be held next April at the famous Pan-Pacific Auditorium in Los Angeles, the greatest attraction ever offered by the American Federation of Labor.

To date, our show has been held in Cincinnati, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston and Minneapolis. Each year the show has grown and each year new promotional techniques have been developed to make the succeeding show bigger and better. We feel that this, our first venture into the Far West, will go a long way in further cementing the splendid labor-manage-

ment relations existing between our A. F. of L.-affiliated organizations and their contractual employers.

We expect a record-breaking attendance in Los Angeles. We are now concentrating mainly on improving the quality of the exhibition. The regular exhibitors have already indicated that they will go all-out to put on display their finest and most colorful exhibits. More emphasis is being put on "live" displays—those having special animated effects and those offering audience participation. When the floor plans for the 1954 show were first put on display at our recent show in Minneapolis, a record number of exhibitors signed their contracts immediately to be assured of choice space at Los Angeles.

The Union Label and Service Trades Department feels that the Union Label Industries Show is a natural for Los Angeles. As the fourth largest city in the United States, this oasis west of the Rockies is growing by leaps and bounds. Almost overnight it has become a great industrial center. It is the home of approximately 500,000 members of

the American Federation of Labor. It is one of America's greatest consumer markets. Many of the nation's largest manufacturers have established their Western offices and factories in Los Angeles in recent years.

All these elements in our favor prompt us to believe that the show next April will reach successes far beyond our wildest expectations. Advance work and planning are going on every day. Each week new exhibitors are being signed up. New publicity and promotional ideas are being developed.

We urge all A. F. of L. affiliates which have not as yet taken space for the Los Angeles show to act now and be a part of this coming exhibition, which promises to equal or even surpass any other type of trade show ever held anywhere.

The best way to put money into the envelopes of our bread-winners is to insist on the union label every time we take anything out of them.

—Mrs. Herman H. Lowe.

The Labor Year in Latin America

By SERAFINO ROMUALDI

A. F. of L. Representative for Latin America

THE list of setbacks which has marked the recent labor scene in the twenty Latin American countries has continued to grow, although at slower pace, during the past twelve months. On the other hand, democratic labor has also witnessed events which have given ground for satisfaction and optimism for the future. Let us see what has happened, country by country.

Cuba

The *de facto* regime of General Batista has suspended constitutional guarantees and has practically suppressed freedom of press and association, following an unsuccessful armed revolt. This has added to the difficulties of the Cuban labor movement, especially in the event of strikes and other labor conflicts. However, the Cuban Confederation of Labor (CTC) and its affiliates have been careful to remain aloof from anti-government political agitation, which has permitted them to preserve, and in some cases even to increase, their numerical strength.

Spokesmen of the CTC claim that trade union freedom has not been affected by the government of General Batista. On the contrary, they point out that all the hopes of reactionary elements and employers' organizations to destroy or greatly curtail the power of organized labor when Batista assumed power on March 10 of last year have so far been frustrated. Labor gains and the most important features of the labor legislation enacted under previous governments have been preserved.

Cuban organized labor has joined with government and business representatives in promoting a greater influx of capital from abroad for pri-

vate investment, in order to diversify the Cuban economy and promote industrialization in several lines which offer encouraging prospects. At the same time, the Cuban Confederation of Labor has greatly increased its participation in international labor affairs.

Communist elements made a poor showing at the last CTC convention. They managed to elect less than three per cent of the delegates. As a result they were routed on every issue they cared to raise, including affiliation with the I.C.F.T.U., which was overwhelmingly reaffirmed.

The Peronistas have set up a branch of ATLAS (the spurious Latin American trade union organization launched, supported and financed by Peron) and have opened an office in Havana, but not a single national or local labor organization has joined up with them. A few individuals who have succumbed to the lavish lure of Peron's money have been promptly expelled from their unions.

Haiti and Dominican Republic

The National Union of Haitian Workers, now affiliated with the I.C.F.T.U., is the dominant trade union organization of the country. It cooperates with the government now in power, from which it has received legal recognition. Still young and weak in resources, it is planning an educational and organizational campaign with the help of the I.C.F.T.U. and its regional branch, the O.R.I.T. Four Haitian labor leaders are about to arrive in the United States for a three-month period of study and training.

In the Dominican Republic the situation is unchanged. The Confederation of Dominican Workers, con-

trolled by the government, is the only labor group permitted to exist. Not wanted by the O.R.I.T.-I.C.F.T.U. on account of its subservience to the country's dictatorial government, it has nevertheless remained aloof from the Peronista and Communist camps.

Venezuela

Hundreds of democratic trade union leaders still remain confined in jails or concentration camps. Only local unions led by elements that support the dictatorial government of Colonel Perez Jimenez are permitted to exist, but without any autonomy of action. All labor issues are settled by government fiat.

Obviously due to inter-American political considerations, the government of Venezuela has so far prevented its kept unions from having any contact with the Peronista ATLAS movement, but the Communist-controlled CTAL enjoys complete freedom of action. Meetings are at present held in several parts of Venezuela to round up support for the forthcoming convention of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

The misnamed Independent Labor Movement (MSI) of Venezuela—composed of elements picked by the government for their loyalty to the dictatorship—has gone on record in favor of joining I.C.F.T.U. This move has aroused the unanimous opposition of international free labor, which is well aware of the true nature of the MSI and the police character of its operations.

Brazil

Practically all the legally existing trade union federations and confederations of Brazil are now affiliated with the O.R.I.T. and I.C.F.T.U., which have opened in Rio a branch

office for coordination and publicity purposes. It would be wrong, however, to state that all is well in the labor movement of this great country.

A series of strikes, motivated by legitimate economic grievances, has taken place during the past year. Some of these strikes fell into the hands of insurgent elements, some of them Communists, with whom government and employers alike were finally compelled to deal in order to bring about a settlement and resumption of work. This has precipitated a crisis, called "the crisis of leadership," which is being bitterly debated in the Brazilian press and has even given rise in some cases to court actions.

In the midst of these events the Minister of Labor was changed. He had followed a policy of non-intervention in union affairs in the belief that this would be the best way to lead the Brazilian unions to eventual self-determination and self-government. (They were mostly organized by government initiative during the first Vargas regime.) The new Minister, obviously alarmed by the strength shown by Communist elements, particularly during the Sao Paulo general strike and the recent Rio de Janeiro maritime stoppage, started by making declarations which were interpreted as presaging direct government intervention in order to change the present union leadership so as to make it "more representative of the will of the rank and file." These statements were also interpreted by some U.S. newspaper correspondents as indicating a determination on the part of the new young Minister of Labor to organize regimented trade unions completely responsive to the government and even willing to play the main role in the establishment of a Peron-like dictatorship. These allegations were promptly and vigorously denied.

Only the future will tell which way the wind will blow in the Brazilian trade unions. The present period is undoubtedly one of revision and readjustment. Both the O.R.I.T. and the I.C.F.T.U. are aware of the situation and have offered their services in order to assist the normal development

of a free, constructive and independent labor movement.

Paraguay and Uruguay

The Confederation of Labor of Paraguay (CTP) was chosen by the Peronista movement as the first victim of its "persuasive action." It was in Paraguay that the first Peronista Latin American trade union convention was held last year. However, the CTP has regained its independence and is now fully cooperating with the world's free trade union movement. Communist elements there have practically ceased to exist.

Uruguay continues to present the brightest spot in Latin America as far as democratic labor is concerned. There is still division, but the totalitarian forces, whether Communist or Peronista, have been soundly defeated. The Trade Union Confederation of Uruguay, affiliated with the O.R.I.T.-I.C.F.T.U., is unquestionably the dominant labor organization of the country. Its relationship with other democratic labor groups that remain independent is very cordial. Unity of action among them, in case of emergency, is taken for granted. This unity of action was mainly responsible for the successful outcome of the general strike which the workers of Uruguay proclaimed last year

in defense of some basic principles of trade union freedom.

Argentina

Democratic labor leaders are still in jail or exile. The hatred of rank-and-file unionists for the henchmen that General Peron had put at the head of his General Confederation of Labor forced him, last fall, to execute another change of the guard. Out went Espejo and his crew; in came Vuletich with a new set of puppets. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose!*

Chile

The election of General Ibañez to the Presidency of Chile, in September of last year, brought to an end efforts by the O.R.I.T.-I.C.F.T.U. for the organization of a separate national labor confederation composed of industrial federations. It was felt that the best solution to forestall the organization of a Peron-like labor movement, which for a while appeared to be the choice of President Ibañez (subsequent events proved this hasty conclusion entirely wrong), would be to join all other elements, including the Communists, in the launching of a unified, all-inclusive trade union national body. Our people were confident that the organization would be dominated by anti-totalitarian elements.

The wisdom of this tactic is still debated in Chile as well as in O.R.I.T. circles. The fact remains, however, that a unified labor confederation (CUTCH) was set up in February of this year on a platform containing, especially in international affairs, practically all the standard planks of the Communist movement. But they elected a mixed leadership in which the Communists have no majority. This was shown two months later when Lombardo Toledano pleaded in person for affiliation to the CTAL but was rebuked by a vote of better than two to one.

The government of President Ibañez had meanwhile given no further indication of desiring the formation of a Peron-like labor movement affiliated with ATLAS, with the result that ATLAS is now practically nonexistent in Chile. He launched also several tirades against the



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Communists, thus making their position inside the CUTCH difficult. But the Communists are strongly entrenched in coal, nitrate and steel, and they control a number of important provincial labor federations. Furthermore, as long as the Socialists are tied to the Communists by "a pact of political action"—something like the pact between Togliatti and Nenni in Italy—the Socialists can never be counted for sure to join in an anti-Communist trade union coalition.

In spite of this muddled and unreassuring situation, the democratic labor elements are getting ready for the inevitable next round with the Communist forces. Oil, copper and maritime workers' federations have joined the I.C.F.T.U.; four other federations have likewise applied for membership. The O.R.I.T.-I.C.F.T.U. feels that not all is lost in Chile and plans effective action to assist the democratic labor elements in recovering lost ground and improving their position for the future.

Peru

When a delegation of U.S. labor representatives visited Peru last year, they were allowed to address a meeting of textile leaders and to visit a number of unions. It appeared as if the trend toward full reestablishment of trade union freedom would continue unimpeded. But a few months later the government again tightened the screws—under the pretext that a number of strikes had political rather than economic origin. At present the situation is practically as bad as it was two years ago, especially for the elements that belonged in the past to the Aprista party.

Almost the only unions which are allowed a certain degree of freedom—not to strike but to meet in their headquarters and to deal with government and employers—are those that for one reason or another supported the anti-Aprista coup of General Odria five years ago. In this group are included the Socialists, who are now in opposition, and the so-called Luna Communists, followers of Senator Luna, a close collaborator of Lombardo Toledano and a "loyal" (read "domesticated") opponent of Odria. The "Stalinist" Communists are, however, out of favor, while the Peronistas continue to enjoy considerable freedom, although their stock has decreased since Peron received, early this year, the plaudits of some

Aprista leaders exiled in Chile and conferred with them.

Bolivia

This landlocked mountain republic has witnessed during the past year a veritable economic revolution that brought about the nationalization of the tin mines and an agrarian reform that will eventually give back to the Indians the land taken away from them after the Conquest. The labor movement of Bolivia is part of this revolution. Two of its leaders are in the government, which in turn is dominated by the MNR party whose main strength has always been among the miners, the factory workers and the peasants. There is now in Bolivia one all-inclusive labor organization, the COB.

Three groups inside the COB battle for control—the Communists, the Trotskyites and the MNR. The lead that the two brands of communism originally enjoyed has been wiped out, but they still represent considerable force and a serious threat. The outcome of the struggle is closely tied to the success or failure of the present government efforts to stem inflation and resume the export at fair prices of tin and other minerals. Meanwhile, the COB maintains neutrality in international labor relations, sending observers to all international trade union gatherings, whether Communist, Peronista or democratic.

Ecuador

The dominant labor organization of the country, the CTE, remains loyal to the CTAL-WFTU thanks to the alliance existing between the Socialist and Communist parties. Unless this alliance is broken, there is no immediate prospect of building in Ecuador a strong, democratic, independent labor movement. At the recent CTE convention many Socialist delegates advocated a divorce from the Communists, who gained only a minority in the Executive Board. The provincial federation of Cotopaxi and many unions from other provinces refused to attend the convention as a protest against continuing collaboration with the Communists.

The present alternatives to the Socialist-Communist bloc are: the Peronista-like movement, fortunately still disorganized and weak in spite of the generous Argentine efforts; the Ecuadorean Confederation of Catholic Workers, numerically large but or-

ganizationally inefficient because it has been set up more as an adjunct to Catholic Action than a bonafide trade union; the Workers' Confederation of Guayas, affiliated with the O.R.I.T.-I.C.F.T.U., limited to the city and province of Guayaquil but composed mostly of artisans.

Colombia

The Union of Colombian Workers (UTC) made great progress during the past year, extending its influence to coal, oil and maritime fields. It is unquestionably the dominant labor organization of the country. A number of its young leaders have visited the United States for study and training.

The other O.R.I.T.-I.C.F.T.U. affiliate, the CTC, suffered greatly on account of government persecution and infiltration in its ranks of Peronista agents. Since the reestablishment of trade union freedom, following the change of government in June, the CTC has again been given the opportunity to recover its losses, but it still faces disorganized leadership and lack of resources. Both the O.R.I.T. and the I.C.F.T.U., with full approval from the UTC, are taking emergency measures to overcome these difficulties.

Meanwhile, the Peronistas are busy launching a new labor body, the National Confederation of Labor (CNT), aided by some reactionary conservative elements and with the support of some unions of the CTC that have fallen under the influence of corrupt leaders. Their success depends on government support, which is unlikely to come.

Panama, Honduras and Guatemala

The labor situation in Panama has not varied much. The forces that follow the CTAL and ATLAS are numerically weak, in spite of their vociferous activity, which is obviously lavishly financed from abroad. They are now mostly engaged in stirring up old hatreds and false issues in connection with the forthcoming negotiations between the United States and Panama for changes in the treaty regulating the operations of the Canal. The Farm and Labor Confederation of Panama, affiliated with the O.R.I.T.-I.C.F.T.U., has lost, due to internal dissension, the Federation of Agricultural Societies, but this group, too, has applied for affiliation with our free world group.

Honduras is still the only Latin American country without a labor movement, a labor code or social security legislation worthy of the name. On the other hand, Guatemala is still the only Latin American country where the labor movement is controlled, lock, stock and barrel, by the Communists, with no immediate prospect of change. Sporadic attempts to wrest control from the Communists in the Railway Union, early this year, were easily squashed by the well-organized Communist machine, aided and abetted by the government.

Costa Rica, El Salvador and Nicaragua

Little Costa Rica is competing with Uruguay for the primacy in democracy and trade union freedom among the Latin American family of nations. The Confederation Rerum Novarum has become the strongest labor organization in the country, but in the banana plantations of the Pacific Coast the Communists have regained considerable strength, largely due to the shortsighted policy of both the government and the employers. The recent election of José Figueres to the Presidency of Costa Rica presages a change of policy which should be beneficial to democratic labor. President-elect Figueres is a strong democrat and an equally strong anti-Communist and anti-Fascist. While he believes in the absolute independence of the labor movement, he also believes, as he has stated on many occasions, that it is the duty of a democratic government to support democratic unions when they are locked in a struggle with reactionary employers and Communist rival forces.

In El Salvador the free trade union movement has made considerable progress during the past year, particularly among electrical workers and railway employees. Its government is strongly anti-Communist and views with benevolent interest the activities of the O.R.I.T. and I.C.F.T.U. El Salvador recently joined the I.L.O., thus opening an important avenue for international labor relations and contacts.

In Nicaragua, too, the progress has been considerable, with Communist and Peronista forces steadily losing ground. The visit to the United States of several trade union leaders (three of them under O.R.I.T. auspices) has contributed greatly to a better understanding of the role of

free labor. Prospects for the future affiliation with the O.R.I.T.-I.C.F.T.U. of most of the Nicaraguan unions are very good.

Mexico

This country, whose labor movement years ago was the prime mover of inter-American and international labor activities, became, last January, the headquarters of O.R.I.T. The headquarters of CTAL are still located here but without even a vestige of its former prestige and influence. The largest and most influential labor organization of Mexico, the CTM, has joined forces with the world free labor movement.

Mexican labor is still divided in several national bodies and independent federations, but the CTM has by far the majority of workers in its ranks. In addition, it has successfully negotiated a pact of unity of action and union solidarity with most of the other labor organizations and independent

federations. The exceptions are the CROC, which was recently organized by the merger of four independent minority groups; the CROM, which is affiliated with the ATLAS but has an infinitesimal membership; and the UGOC of Lombardo Toledano, which is so small that it was unable even to qualify for legal recognition by the Department of Labor.

In the past year the CTM added considerably to its numerical strength, won a series of important victories in the economic field and strengthened its organizational apparatus. It opened a printing plant and publishing house of its own, launched a weekly of large national circulation, established a number of departments devoted to education, organization and research, and is about to complete construction of its own modern building, with theater, assembly halls, offices and other facilities for the efficient conduct of trade union affairs.

America's Conscience

By C. J. HAGGERTY

Secretary, California State Federation of Labor

THE American trade union movement faces attacks of increasing intensity. This is especially true of the legislative theater.

Too many Americans are refusing to accept organized labor as a required and integral part of our democratic society. Such a reluctance is especially noted among those who influence much of our economic and social existence.

Union members comprise an imposing segment of American life. In California, for example, the membership of the A. F. of L. alone totals more than 1,225,000 men and women. It is true that we have particular interests, but it is equally true that we serve the common welfare.

If the wage-earners of America are unable to buy back the products of their labor, then surely national markets will decline and the awful shadow of unemployed millions will again haunt our land.

From its inception the American Federation of Labor has espoused the American way of democracy.

As trade unionists we continue to hold faith in the mutual responsibility of labor and management. We

continue to insist that free labor and free management express the power and hope of the private enterprise system which has helped make America a leader among the nations.

In another important sense, the organized labor movement has become the social conscience of America. We cherish the fundamentals, but we also struggle for the needy, the aged, the sick and the dispossessed.

Thus, while we give a proper priority to wages, hours and the conditions of work, we have become the legislative and political voice of millions who look to us as old campaigners in the fight for a better social order.

The labor movement is approaching ever-broader horizons of action. We must succeed for the advance of America.

The tasks facing us need not be forbidding if we march in the spirit of our founders. We should be sustained by the motives of Gompers and the men who built our movement.

However, they gave us no guaranty of survival. We must triumph by our own intelligence, our own integrity, our own will.



The union's policies are set by conventions. This year's G.B.B.A. conclave was held at Cincinnati

THE GLASS BOTTLE BLOWERS

By THOMAS R. BYRNE
*Director of Research and Education,
 Glass Bottle Blowers Association*

TO OWN one's own home is part and parcel of every American's dream. Accordingly, the president of the Glass Bottle Blowers Association was proud to announce recently to the members of this affiliate of the A. F. of L. that their dream had come true with the purchase of one of Philadelphia's most beautiful office buildings for the union's home.

This home is a modern, air-conditioned, \$3,500,000 structure in the heart of Philadelphia's downtown business district. It is one of the tallest of the city's skyscrapers. The building serves as the focal point for all union activities and houses the offices of the union's top executives, the Research and Education Department and the office force. It is a living monument to our progressiveness and marks another milestone covered in our historic career.

We are proud that the progress of the Glass Bottle Blowers Association has been linked with the success of the American labor movement. For the history of the G.B.B.A. is integrally woven into the history of the American trade union movement. The union took root in the days of Jacksonian democracy.

By the year 1842 a group of bottle blowers gathered in convention in

Philadelphia and formulated a wage scale for blowing glass. The hardy band of glass blowers found the root of trade unionism a difficult one to sow. The story was one familiar to Nineteenth Century labor — antagonistic newspaper editors, a hostile general public and injunctions all challenging the right of workers to organize. For attempting to enjoy the God-given right of organization to protect and improve their wages, hours and conditions of employment, workers placed their very lives in danger. So strong was the opposition to trade unionism that our earliest activities had to be undertaken with great secrecy.

At the conclusion of the Civil War, new and more determined efforts were taken to build up the Glass Bottle Blowers Association. Soon after, our organization joined the ranks of the Knights of Labor. At the close of the century a great forward step was taken by our affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

The A. F. of L.'s leaders recognized the capability of Dennis A. Hayes, president of the union, by electing him a vice-president. He served on the Executive Council from 1901 to his death in 1917.

Among the first unions to face the

problem of the machine and unemployment was the Glass Bottle Blowers Association. Our leaders decided not to fight the new automatic machines but rather to accept them and control their operation so that the health and welfare of our members would not be impaired. The next step was to promote the use of the machine for higher standards of living and increased employment. Our wage scale is evidence of their shrewd foresight.

After World War I our union, along with the rest of the American labor movement, suffered hard days. However, under the leadership of James Maloney the G.B.B.A. still remained a vital organization, and with the passage of the Wagner Act it was ready to expand its horizons.

During World War II our members gave living testimony of their patriotism by doing the seemingly impossible, doubling their production in the fight to help preserve democracy. For the international office the war, with its Labor Board and special regulations, brought many trying problems.

Sweet are the uses of adversity, though, for the solution of these special problems served as the training ground for the union's future presi-

dent, Lee W. Minton. When ill health forced President Maloney to resign early in 1946, Mr. Minton, the youngest man in the history of the G.B.B.A. to succeed to the presidency, was well prepared to take over the responsibility.

The complex problems of the post-war era had to be faced. The youthful president was determined not only to consolidate the gains made but to reorganize the growing G.B.B.A. so that it might continue its rapid expansion and take a prominent place in the trade union movement.

Under his guidance the union has streamlined its approach. Today it is as modern and dynamic as hydrogen energy. Internal union administration has been reorganized so it can better serve the membership, which has doubled since the war. Office equipment has been mechanized to promote greater efficiency. The Organizing Division has been more fully staffed. We now approach the bargaining table better prepared than management. A Research and Education Department has been instituted. Our officials play an increasingly prominent role in national and international conferences and committees.

The membership has been in full accord with Lee Minton's drive to bring the blessings of unionism to the unorganized. We have organized almost 100 per cent of the glass container industry, and its members have reaped the benefits of industry-wide bargaining. Among the most rapidly growing of the newer divisions is the Fibrous Glass Department, where our fibrous glass members are producing the new miracle material of the glass industry.

In the early Thirties the manufacture of fibrous glass marked the successful culmination of many attempts to make a truly pliable glass. Fibrous glass is one of our strongest materials, with a tensile strength almost five times as great as structural steel. It is stable, can't absorb moisture, is impervious to acids and alkali, doesn't rot or deteriorate, can't oxidize and is non-combustible. Over 85 per cent of the fibrous glass workers are members of our union.

The able representation of its membership by the G.B.B.A. was recognized by the fibrous glass workers who wanted to be protected by a union which had years of experience

in the glass industry. It is with genuine pleasure that a century-old union can give its members in an infant industry all the fruits of unionism which were won by the sacrifices of workers in past generations.

The Glass Bottle Blowers Association has been able to protect and promote the economic well-being of the many employees in the raw material industries connected with the glass industry. Moreover, the rapid strides made in glass and allied research have developed innumerable new products and expanded the glass horizons for our union. We produce a sizable portion of the television tubes now on the market. Many of our members are also manufacturing the increasingly popular glass building materials.

Since the war our paychecks have increased from 50 to 100 per cent. Our members enjoy from six to eight paid holidays and receive triple time for holidays worked. Our vacation periods are rated among the best in American industry. We are proud, too, of the fact that, even though the glass industry is a continuous operation, our members receive time and one-half for Sunday work as such, which has resulted in an average eight per cent wage increase for our members. These are just a few of the many fringe benefits contained in our contracts.

Modern unionism is more than a concentration on the economic front. In reality, the working man and his leaders must help shape the whole social structure of our nation and the world at large. The responsibility placed on union leaders has increased a thousand-fold. Our officials are aware of their duty and are taking an increasingly active part in various local, national and international organizations. A partial survey of our president's activities, in addition to his union duties, would include such varying posts as alternate labor member of the Wage Stabilization Board, member of the board of the Community Chest and member of the committee which surveyed the situation of trade unionists in Argentina.

The trade union movement today is recognizing the tremendous value which lies in the use of good public relations and promotional techniques to members and potential members as well as to the general public and to the companies with which they are

associated. The Glass Bottle Blowers take every opportunity, through the media of publications, the press, radio and television, to explain to the public the significant functions of our union as well as the whole trade union movement in bettering the American way of life. Our interest in the labor press is very deep. Our union has assumed some share in this aspect of promotional responsibility by publishing our own monthly journal, *Glass Horizons*, and issuing various other publications. We are affiliated with the Union Label and Service Trades Department and play an important part in the annual Union Industries Show sponsored by that Department.

In this era of contract negotiations, varying trade union philosophies, political change and international tension, the scope of activities for the progressive unionist has widened far beyond the realm ever envisioned by the labor leaders of even a generation ago. In recognition of labor's new role in the world, the union established a Research and Education Department. It has become an economic support for its members at the



**Lee Minton became president
—union's youngest—in '46**

bargaining table. In addition, the Department attempts to supply the local unions with bulletins and periodicals and serves as a liaison with government and educational agencies so that their resources can be placed at the disposal of our members. Information on wage rates, workmen's compensation—(Continued on Page 34)

Labor and Civil Defense

By **VAL PETERSON**

Federal Civil Defense Administrator

BECAUSE our technical civilization places great emphasis on skilled workmanship, labor has an especially heavy stake in the organization and implementation of civil defense. In the last war the winning factor was America's production capacity. In a future war this capacity will be the enemy's first target. If and when an attack occurs, it will be directed first of all at our production lines and the expert workers who man them.

Our vast concentrations of people and plants have been a natural result of the development of the American mass production system. But we are coming to realize that, carried to extremes, this trend may turn out to be our 'Achilles' heel. The fact is that each one of these concentrations also presents an enemy with an inviting target which can be seriously hurt with a single A-bomb or H-bomb.

Before an enemy would dare to meet us on the field of battle, he would first have to knock out on the home front our sources of military supply. Attacks would be made on our industrial plants—and on our industrial manpower—as a prelude to battle anywhere in the world.

An atomic strike on an industrial installation would kill and injure countless numbers of skilled workers and destroy tools and machinery which were years in the making. The loss of a skilled worker means the loss of innumerable man-hours, man-days and man-years of training, know-how and experience. This skill cannot be replaced overnight; its value to our national security is inestimable.

Our skilled workers would be an indispensable force, after an attack, in restoring our cities and industries to functioning order. Our ability to get up on our feet and fight back would depend upon the thoroughness with which such workers were organized and trained for emergency duties in civil defense. Lives, jobs and property would hang in the balance.

A well-organized civil defense can

reduce casualties, stop fires before they get out of hand, restore damaged facilities and make it possible for production to resume.

A well-organized civil defense can keep the plant or factory in operation despite attacks designed to knock them out for good.

Without civil defense, many plants not completely destroyed by atomic blast would be gutted by fire storms or so badly choked with rubble that it would take critical weeks or months to get them back into production. Even if the plants were left intact, damage to essential utility systems, gas, water and electricity, would render them inoperative. If our key industries were destroyed or unproductive, our armed forces would be left to wither on the vine—with nothing to fight with.

American industry and the civilians who man it would be a prime target in the event of another war. What have industry and labor done to prepare? So far, probably no more and no less than the rest of America. In some plants excellent civil defense plans are already in effect. Others are just beginning to move. Still others have done nothing.

An adequate civil defense must have for its base the self-reliant individual—worker, housewife, child—fortified with every possible training and plenty of practice; prepared to protect himself in an emergency with assurance and without panic; with a home shelter area known and accessible to all in the household and stocked with food, first-aid and emergency supplies.

In addition, he must be prepared to extend efficient aid, as an individual or a number of a civil defense team, to his family, his fellow workers, his neighbors, the neighborhood across town or the town across the state.

Above and beyond these basic self-protection measures, the workingman has an even greater responsibility.

Skilled workers in their unions have been called the nation's most effective salesmen. Now it is to their advantage to get behind civil defense and sell it to fellow workers and management as something they must have for the security of the whole nation, and something they must have right away, in their cities, their homes and their places of employment.

It is incumbent on industrial workers everywhere to initiate, help organize and participate in self-protection programs within their plants and factories. The major factors in providing such a program are:

(1) Formation of a joint labor-management planning committee in the plant to work with local civil defense authorities in organizing for civil defense and implementing the program.

(2) Survey of the plant to locate and eliminate probable wartime hazards.

(3) Provision of first-aid stations, shelters and other means of protection, such as firefighting, rescue, welfare, police and traffic control.

(4) Provision of protection for essential records, either through dispersal of duplicates or protective construction.

(5) Provision of a warning and control system throughout the plant.

(6) Probably most important of all, participation in such a program by individuals. Civil defense, in the final analysis, is an individual matter. Unless each worker takes steps to protect himself, there is little hope for the protection of the group.

The value of civil defense self-protection measures is not limited to wartime destruction. In the tornadoes and floods which recently hit many areas of the country, the immediate and virtually automatic response of trained and willing volunteer rescue workers contributed substantially in minimizing the effects of the damage, saving lives and restoring order. Emergency crews of organized con-

struction workers, truckers and utility workers did an outstanding job.

In some industrial facilities, sound civil defense plans have been perfected. This has been due in large part to local enthusiasm and individual impetus. But these are too few and far between.

Generally, civil defense has received realistic understanding and strong support from organized labor throughout the nation. This help has been a vital factor in the progress that civil defense has made. But our efforts, as individuals and as members of organized labor, must be redoubled—and redoubled again—if we are to make the home front strong.

An effective civil defense program can be a strong force for peace. The objective of American foreign policy is to do away with war. We are striving to build up our defenses to the point where they will be so strong that no potential enemy will dare test them. A strong civil defense is a major part of this deterrent program. It is not a "pick up the pieces" plan but a positive force for peace.

If the enemy knows that millions of Americans are ready to move into action when attack comes; if he knows that we have thousands of rescue squads and tens of thousands of wardens and millions of Americans trained in first aid; if he knows we have stockpiles of medical supplies and emergency equipment so that we can save many American lives that might otherwise be lost, this knowledge will seriously affect his decision whether to risk war. A strong civil defense stands side by side with our armed forces as a deterrent to attack and thus helps serve the cause of peace in the world.

If another world conflict comes, there is not likely to be any formal declaration of war. There won't be any grace period to get up steam and organize defenses. We have to be ready *in advance* with civil defense preparedness or face certain disaster.

The American people, particularly industrial and skilled workers, constitute the key to our security. America's industries and workers are precious. Our enemies know this as well as we know it.

The advice of all elements of industry in Britain and in all of the European countries where workers and industrial facilities were subjected to air attack in World War II

is right to the point. "Protect your people first," they say. These people learned the hard way—from bitter experience.

The success of our civil defense program depends primarily upon the

skills of America's free workers—upon their adaptability, stamina, standards of living and work, their productivity, and upon their *safety*.

The stake is high. In a word, it is survival.

American Federation of Labor Financial Report

July 1, 1952, to June 30, 1953

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, June 30, 1952.....	\$1,111,907.44
Per capita tax.....	\$4,210,684.69
Per capita tax subscriptions, American Federationist	353,517.47
Paid subscriptions, American Federationist	3,430.93
Per capita tax from locals allocated to Defense Fund	203,603.24
Initiation fees	70,081.69
Reinstatement fees	1,433.00
Supplies	24,826.27
Interest	13,987.50
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.....	46,287.41
Subscriptions, A.F.L. News-Reporter.....	29,032.16
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts	27,091.09
Total receipts	4,983,975.45
Grand total.....	\$6,095,882.89

EXPENSES

Organizing expenses	\$896,963.33
Salaries	
Organizers	839,162.12
Office Employees	
A.F.L.	418,076.81
W.E.B.	24,160.75
L.L.P.E.	89,190.00
Administrative	
A.F.L.	204,478.98
L.L.P.E.	16,154.18
Miscellaneous General Bills	
A.F.L.	1,475,430.51
W.E.B.	24,118.00
L.L.P.E.	57,309.74
American Federationist	171,947.26
A.F.L. News-Reporter	150,601.75
Defense Fund	168,940.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.....	38,491.45
Total expenses	\$4,575,024.88
Balance on hand, June 30, 1953.....	\$1,520,858.01

RECAPITULATION

In General Fund	\$1,018,343.63
In Defense Fund for federal labor unions.....	502,514.38
Balance on hand, June 30, 1953.....	\$1,520,858.01

WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►The Seafarers recently signed new agreements with the Ocean Tow Steamship Company, Seattle, Wash., covering both offshore and Alaskan operations. The offshore agreement is the same as the standard freight contract. Basic wages on the Alaska run are higher, varying from \$296 per month for wipers to \$483 for chief electricians.

►Local 801, Boilermakers, Camden, N. J., has signed New York Shipbuilding to an agreement which calls for the world's highest wages for shipyard workers and affects 5,000 members. The average increase is 16½ cents an hour. In addition, each employee will receive 15 cents an hour retroactive to June.

►Local 1245, Electrical Workers, has won a new contract for members employed by the Sierra Pacific Power Company out of Reno, Nev. In addition to increased pay, the agreement calls for a health and welfare plan to be financed jointly by company and employee contributions.

►Wage increases of 14 to 46 cents an hour have been won by Local 194, A. F. of L. Auto Workers, in its initial contract with Milwaukee Gas Specialty, Milwaukee. Other provisions of the contract are a liberalized paid vacation program, a pension plan and plant-wide seniority.

►Local 279 of the Office Workers, Paterson, N. J., has secured higher pay, job protection and important fringe benefits for 475 members in a first contract with the Curtiss-Wright Propeller Division.

►Negotiating jointly, the Machinists and Boilermakers have signed an agreement with the American Boiler Works at Erie, Pa., calling for wage increases and an insurance program.

►Local 498, Electrical Workers, Traverse City, Mich., has won an hourly increase of 15 cents, bringing the scale to \$2.75.

►Local 7 of the Photo-Engravers was victorious in a Labor Board election held recently at the Trent Engraving Company plant in Trenton, N. J.



A. F. of L. members volunteered their services at Flint, Mich., for big community rebuilding project after the recent tornado

►Auto mechanics of Lodge 1120, Machinists, Fort William and Port Arthur, Ont., have won a 15-cent hourly increase and layoff pay in a new contract with the Thunder Bay Automobile Dealers Association. Other gains include eight paid holidays, an improved vacation program and checkoff of dues.

►Local 529 of the Plumbers has completed negotiations at Waco, Texas, winning a new wage scale of \$2.75 an hour and the provision that all tools are to be furnished by the employer.

►Local 308, Chemical Workers, has obtained a wage increase of 10 cents an hour in a new contract with the American Rock Wool Corporation, Birmingham, Ala.

►Employees of the Agerstrand Corporation, Freeport, Ill., have chosen Lodge 1906, Machinists, as their bargaining agent.

►Local 1445, Carpenters, Topeka, Kans., has reached an agreement with contractors on a new wage schedule, winning a 25-cent hourly boost.

►Local 363, Hotel and Restaurant Employees, Cincinnati, has signed a new contract covering Dow Drug Company fountain service employees. The new agreement, which benefits 200 employees, calls for wage increases and a reduction in the workweek.

►The Carpenters in New York City have won wage boosts and an increase in employer contributions to the union's welfare fund. The entire package amounts to 32 cents an hour. The gains benefit 3,000 carpenters and 2,500 dock builders.

►In the stores operated by Snyder Drugs at St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minn., the Retail Clerks have obtained a 40-hour week. This is a reduction of four hours. Wages continue the same as before.

►Kentucky Local 1 of the Bricklayers, Louisville, has gained a 10½-cent hourly increase, lifting the scale to \$3.17 an hour. The raise covers 460 members.

►Local 205 of the Grain Millers, Indianapolis, Ind., obtained a wage increase at the Evans Milling Company after a nine-week work stoppage.

Local 792, Teamsters, has secured wage increases of 15 cents an hour for members employed by the 7-Up Bottling Company in Minneapolis. The new accord also calls for payment of 5 cents an hour to the health and welfare fund and an additional wage increase of 10 cents an hour next April.

Local 147 of the Retail Clerks, Astoria, Ore., has negotiated an agreement covering Safeway stores in Astoria, St. Helen's, Seaside and Tillamook. The accord equalizes premium pay and standardizes the hourly rate for daytime work.

Division 682 of the Street and Electric Railway Employees has won wage increases and other benefits, including a union shop, dues check-off and two weeks of sick leave per year in negotiations with Fort Wayne Transit, Inc., at Fort Wayne, Ind.



During call at printing plant in Washington, labor visitors from Italy look over monthly magazine published by the A. F. of L.

The Office Employees have won an election held at the new atomic energy plant near Portsmouth, Ohio.

Local 333 of the Painters has negotiated an increase of 11 cents an hour. The new rate is \$2.64 an hour.

The International Labor Organization

(Continued from Page 19)

together toward the main goal of the I.L.O.—the establishment of world peace on a solid base of social justice.

Long before President Truman's Point Four declaration in 1949, the International Labor Organization was giving technical assistance to underdeveloped lands. In its traditional field, the development of international standards, the I.L.O. has made some of its most important contributions to the reduction of human misery. Actions to reach agreement on fair international standards are taken with a great deal of care and deliberation.

There exists among the member nations of the I.L.O. a very wholesome respect for the independence that each country must reserve to itself and exercise in choosing its own way of achieving higher labor standards. There are no reasonable grounds for the fears that ill-informed persons have expressed that the freedom of choice or action of the United States is in any way infringed or endangered by the fact that we work with other nations in the formulation of fair standards. I.L.O. standards are not and cannot be imposed on any nation. The I.L.O. operates solely through voluntarism and cooperation thus leaving complete freedom of action to the member countries.

Certainly the promotion of decent minimum standards of labor in all the other nations of the world is in the best interests of the United States. Every time a nation with which we compete in the markets of the world raises its standards, our own higher standards are indirectly protected and reinforced.

This has a clear and definite bearing on one of the most vital questions at issue today—the problem of promoting broader world trade on a basis that is equitable and profitable to all. It is clearly in the interest of American workers, employers and the public at large that international trade be maintained at the highest possible levels.

Despite the opposition of certain of their I.L.O. representatives, American employers have much to gain and nothing to lose through the promotion of I.L.O. standards. A convention to establish an age minimum of 16 years for work underground in the coal mines, for example, imposes no conceivable burden on American operators who send no one underground until he is 18. On the contrary, American mines are protected from the competition of poorly paid child labor in countries which might ratify such a convention.

In addition to the 1,357 ratifications of I.L.O. conventions which the sixty-six member countries have deposited to date, the I.L.O. has served to improve the lot of mankind in other ways which cannot be readily measured in statistical terms. No one can say how many lives and limbs have been saved as a result of the I.L.O.'s studies in safety and industrial hygiene which are distributed throughout the world.

In discussing particular phases of the activities of our nation in the international field today, the role of these activities in the struggle against communism is quite properly regarded as a strong argument in their favor. Our work in the I.L.O. and in other international bodies does make a very definite, vital and effective contribution to our side of that worldwide struggle. But it also does much more than that.

In supporting and promoting these activities, we are, it is true, working "against communism," but we are also doing something which is perhaps more vital and important over the long run—we are working "for humanity." We are actively and aggressively promoting the positive cause of democratic action, under freedom, as the only enlightened means to the end of social justice and human progress in a world in which the dignity of the individual is supposed to count for something.

What's Happening Across the Ocean?

(Continued from Page 9)

in a return to work on the part of desperate workers.

This could have only led to further disillusionment and chaos, thus preparing the bases for a new Communist campaign in the autumn. A completely controlled Communist strike movement in the fall could bring about either the defeat of the government or force the government to accept a deal with Russia in the international sphere—especially in Indo-China and Germany.

THE critical August days in France were an historical opportunity for French labor and the free world. If those responsible for the leadership of France both in government and industry were conscious of the full implications of the recent strikes, they would have done everything in their power to have the strikes end with some kind of victory for the non-Communist trade union movement. That could have meant the beginning of the end of Communist supremacy in the trade union movement. Such a result was important not only for France but for the entire free world.

The unusual stubbornness of the government prolonged the strike and increased the gravity of these events. In spite of all pressure that was brought to bear, the government's negotiations with the unions were marked by varying degrees of hostility and at times by ultimatums which put the non-Communist union leaders on the spot. At one point the Premier, speaking on the radio, threatened the non-Communist unions and even stated that all negotiations were broken off. There were open and veiled threats of arrests and the use of force.

While these maneuvers were going on, the Communists—who were kept out of all negotiations at the insistence of the Force Ouvrière and Christian trade unionists—were playing a very cagey game, moving with great caution and staying somewhat in the background. It almost seemed as though the Communists were refraining from going too far and never really exploiting the strike potentialities to the full.

This seemed to be in line with what is present Soviet foreign policy.

Another curious aspect of the strike was the Premier's radio speech on August 17 which implied an almost anti-American line. In one sentence he referred to France's dependence on outside aid, with the implication that this is a particularly undesirable situation and that his anti-strike policy is part and parcel of a larger national effort to become independent *vis-a-vis* the U.S.A. This came only a short time after the recent Malenkov speech hinting at the possibility of proposing a new deal to the French at the expense of the West. There has also been an article in *Pravda* which states that new efforts must be made to liquidate the Indo-China war now that the Korean truce has been arranged.

As a result of these events and attitudes, there are some people who suspect that some understanding has been or is being made between the present French government or some of its representatives and the Russians, either directly or indirectly. In other words, there is a strong suspicion that many French leaders—either in government or in private industry or in banking circles—believe that a new version of the 1935 Laval-Stalin agreement can be consummated. This would mean that the present government or any future one that accepted such a pact would not have to fear any action by the Communists. The government would then be left with a free hand to "deal with" the entire trade union movement. Here we see a type of French upper-class anti-democracy motivated by fear of an America which is strong in terms of high purchasing power, social progress and influential free unions.

It is obvious that such a policy, if pursued by the French, would mean the beginning of the end for the entire Atlantic policy of the United States and its allies. Eventually it would mean the loss of Europe to the U.S.S.R. and would push back the U.S. to its hemispheric defenses. Although such a possibility is still to be considered in the sphere of speculation and prophesy, it should not be ignored.

Events and trends unfortunately seem to be moving in that direction.

Recent events in Morocco have further weakened the position of the free world, especially in the underdeveloped areas. The exile of the Sultan and his replacement by a puppet of the French has once again united the Arab-Asian bloc against the West and presented a golden opportunity to the Soviets. The government cabinet in France is far from united, and it appears more and more that the Moroccan situation is primarily in the hands of the French colonialists and General Juin along with General Guillaume.

There has been a serious reaction in France against the deposition of the Sultan. As this is written, certain ministers are reported to have threatened resignation. The press has been critical and Francois Mauriac, the leading Catholic writer and editor for *Figaro*, has denounced the whole affair.

The effects of the Moroccan affair in the Arab world and the entire Middle East are serious and may lead to new upheavals. And once again the fires of Soviet propaganda and agitation are being amply fed.

THE recent developments touched on in this article raise serious questions for America and especially for the American labor movement. The international-minded elements of American society have been supporting an all-out American aid program to Europe and especially to France. Can we go on supporting such an aid program unconditionally in view of what is now happening in Europe, especially in France, and in North Africa?

Most of the policies of the Western alliance in Europe, such as European unity, European army, German rearmament and NATO, now seem to be either dead or in the last stages of existence. They are being killed by the European governments themselves, primarily due to French weakness and opposition.

In the light of these factors, it becomes imperative for America to re-examine and revise its policy abroad.

American labor must press for such a new look at foreign policy so that American economic and military aid should not be used to reinforce a disastrous colonialist policy in the underdeveloped countries along with neutralism, defeatism and possible appeasement in Europe and Asia.

A Warning on Airpower

(Continued from Page 20)

his future in an industry which depends upon the changing whims of legislators and administrators in Washington? What man can produce his best when he is wondering whether he will have a job a few months hence?

I have been asked if I would forecast the future of airpower. I have no relish for the soothsayer's role. I do know what the future is if we do not mend our policies.

And it is a bleak one—from the viewpoint of national defense and from the viewpoint of our aircraft industry and labor force. I think I know what our airpower could be if

we had the means to achieve it. But that is not pertinent here.

I do know what the future must be. We must set as our immediate goal an adequate Air Force. We must attain that goal as quickly as possible, developing and holding to a production schedule. We must maintain our present program of dispersed production facilities. We must continue or intensify our programs of research and development, especially among aircraft producers, for the purpose of constantly advancing the quality and performance of our aircraft.

There may be those in positions of

responsibility who believe that we can afford further delays. I don't think so. Certainly our antagonist does not think so. While we let our airpower drop off by 84 per cent and our aircraft production fall off 95 per cent after V-J Day, Russia dedicated itself to becoming the world's dominant air power. And today, eight years later, Russia is still dedicated to that goal.

We cannot afford to let that happen. We have not the manpower to match the hordes under Communist domination on the field of battle. Our sea lanes will be imperiled by the Soviet Union's mounting fleet of submarines.

But we have the genius and the facilities to outstrip Russia in the air—if only we will.

The A. F. of L. in St. Louis

(Continued from Page 11)

with quality school and adult education. The secretary of the central body will help formulate the station's policies.

Many of the delegates to the Central Trades are rank-and-file union members rather than the top union officers. Yet the fine and full cooperation the central body officers get from their affiliates is as inspiring as it is heartening.

For years the St. Louis central body has fought for slum clearance and renovation of blighted areas. When the Public Housing Act was initiated during the Roosevelt Administration, labor ceaselessly agitated that full advantage be taken of the opportunities offered. Labor worked with three mayors to obtain a full measure of public housing in St. Louis. Three such projects are in operation, two for over a decade. One opened this spring, and three more are under construction. Units completed total 2,019.

What has been done in the field of public housing up to now is far from adequate to meet the needs of the St. Louis metropolitan area. Future action on public housing depends upon the kind of Congress we elect in 1954. It is to the advantage of the nation to elect Congressmen with a social outlook and responsibility as "their brother's keeper." This means using the ballot to replace a number of Con-

gressmen who serve the vested interests exclusively.

Currently the A. F. of L. movement of St. Louis is strongly supporting a city bond issue needed to complete a downtown parkway around which a seven-block area will be cleared to provide modern housing for 3,000 downtown workers under the Federal Limited Housing Act.

This month the American Federation of Labor holds its annual convention in St. Louis. The Central Trades and Labor Union is prepared to act as host to the delegates during the week of the convention. We have raised a fund to make the stay of the delegates in our hospitable city a pleasant memory. It is our hope that

American Federation of Labor conventions will come to St. Louis more frequently.

Missouri is known as the "show me" state. While we are not inclined to be boastful, we will be glad to show the convention delegates just what our St. Louis labor movement is and what it represents. We believe that what they see of it they will like, and that they will agree it is solid, wholesome and traditionally American.

For the future, the officers of the Central Trades plan to continue to build the central body on the firm foundation of respect, trust and prestige that it now enjoys, both in and out of the labor movement. That foundation was established by former President Clark and former Executive Secretary Rollings, and the trade unionists of St. Louis are grateful to them for all that they did.



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The Glass Bottle Blowers

(Continued from Page 27)

tion, unemployment insurance and other pertinent subjects are made available to the members so that they may take full advantage of benefits due them.

In the field of education the choice of a full-blown program presented a problem. The union officials were fully cognizant of the need for selecting the proper program. For education can be the best or the worst thing in the world, depending on its use. Education which fixes attention on trifles and has no permanent effect can be wasteful and harmful if people are deceived into thinking a goal has been reached.

To avoid this pitfall, Lee Minton has devised the educational measure of district councils. Quarterly meetings are held for the representatives of local unions within geographic boundaries serviced by our international representatives. Our first concern is with the local union's problems. This entails intensive training of shop stewards and those handling grievance procedure. A full treatment of contract analysis, union history and philosophy is a natural consequence. Courses and assistance are also given to help integrate G.B.B.A. membership and local community activities and services.

The members become better able to understand and appreciate one another's problems as well as the over-all problems affecting the labor movement. Potential leaders are being trained and the grass roots of the union are being strengthened.

Today, with the Communist leaders and others endangering freedom of the individual from many sides, the Glass Bottle Blowers have laid tremendous stress on a deeper appreciation of the American way of life. We constantly portray to each member that his guarantee of a life of freedom as a person and as a trade unionist is protected by the principles contained in the nation's Constitution. It is clearly asserted that every American, regardless of his race, color or creed, has real value because of his God-given nature which automatically gives him the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. In line with the traditions of the A. F. of L., our union urges members to take an

active interest in government and public affairs.

President Minton has insisted that the Education Department do all in its power to provide our members with a well-rounded political education program. He himself serves on the Administrative Committee of Labor's League for Political Education. So long as there are statutes on the books of our federal and state governments which are unfair and injurious to labor, we shall have to utilize everything at our command to overcome reactionary legislation and trends. If our members receive the necessary information on national and local issues, they will vote and act intelligently, insuring that our participation in politics will be handled on a non-partisan basis and our freedom will thus be safeguarded.

IN THIS day when television and jet planes have shrunk the globe, the position of the American and Canadian working man has taken on new importance. No longer can he narrow his thoughts to his own freedom or even that of his country. He must be aware of international problems and the necessity of fighting for free trade unionism throughout the world.

So great has been President Minton's concern for the protection of free trade unionism that he has served on a number of international committees and at various international conferences. He has been a member of the Anglo-American Council on Productivity and served at the recent International Labor Conference at Geneva. In an effort to assist in the

promotion of international civic responsibility, the union's educational director represented the United States at the UNESCO workers' education conference this summer in France.

Our union relies on action, not mere oratory. As a result of his activities in the Anglo-American Council on Productivity, Mr. Minton is at present arranging an interchange of glass workers between countries. The purpose is to establish a higher standard of living for all workers and to aid in the problem of world peace, which is not just a problem of governments but of all men.

Unfortunately, such programs give rise to difficulties—for any large organization, if actively and militantly engaged in a progressive movement, will meet problems. The successful solving of them is the proof of its success. The chief problem our union encounters is the safeguarding of our membership's standard of living. Thought and planning are now taking place to set the groundwork for a guaranteed annual wage for our membership. It is this concern for our membership which explains why we are not satisfied with our present insurance and pension programs, comparable to the best in American industry. For in face of the rising living costs, we feel it is a rare program in America that provides sufficient protection for the sick and aged. Our union, therefore, is now making actuarial studies to produce a program which will protect and provide adequately for our membership.

The Glass Bottle Blowers Association has not been plagued with the problem of communism. The union's constitution prohibits any such anti-American activity. More important, though, our approach has not been

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negative. As may be seen from our various educational and international relations programs, our members are receiving a fuller understanding of the benefits of our democratic way of life and are being taught to know and cooperate with democratic fellow trade unionists not only nationally but also on an international scale.

We are proud of our past. For any organization, however, the proud picture of a progressive past is not nearly so important as its plans for a progressive future.

The rosy glow of past accomplish-

ment must be matched by successes in the future.

In mapping out the blueprint for progress, we must probe into the data, statistics, facts, figures, studies and surveys which define our past and interpret them in terms of our future. In effect, we are searching to the farthest reaches of the glass horizons toward which we are inexorably moving and—having once captured a glimpse of the success we are seeking—we are planning our strategy and blueprinting each tactical move so that time, as it moves onward, will

find the Glass Bottle Blowers each day nearer the ultimate goal. The broad scope of our horizons is increasing each working day. The Glass Bottle Blowers are moving toward an expanding arena of operations where nothing is impossible—especially the failure that follows complacency.

We know what is expected.

We know the direction in which we are moving. We know the results we want to achieve. Therefore, the Glass Bottle Blowers do not need to propagandize or mislead; we only ask that our record be examined.

The Nation's School Problem

(Continued from Page 17)

tenure laws as well as higher pay and better working conditions if we are to obtain and keep enough qualified teachers for the public schools.

Tenure laws generally provide that after a teacher has served a probationary period, he or she goes under tenure, which protects against discharge except for cause established by public hearing. Secretary Kuenzli reported that some states have fair tenure laws, but other states have very poor laws and many have none.

"In every other large free nation," Brother Kuenzli said, "teachers are assured by tenure laws of their jobs so long as they teach efficiently in their classrooms. The laws protect them from dismissal for unjust reasons. Only in the United States, among large free nations, are teachers dismissed for political reasons, for the purpose of making their positions available to other teachers or to satisfy the personal whims of school administrators."

The convention was warned to direct vigorous opposition to any legislation prohibiting or interfering with the teachers' right to strike.

By-laws of the American Federation of Teachers were amended to void the charter of any local limiting membership on account of race or color. Resolutions were adopted supporting rights of citizenship, endorsing a ban on racial or religious discrimination in federal housing, asking adequate appropriations for the United States Office of Education, urging education for the children of migratory farm laborers and calling for federal aid for education.

The convention urged repeal of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Law and condemned "book burning and book banning." The convention affirmed belief that "the security of the nation against Communists and Fascists can be properly maintained only with due regard to the rights and liberties guaranteed to all Americans."

The delegates endorsed the effort to establish rules of fair procedure for Congressional investigating committees.

"We pledge ourselves," said the convention, "to fight against the undermining of these liberties by the rule of bigotry, suspicion and fear."

The delegates scored reactionary groups, often subsidized by those trying to defeat organized labor, which are distributing their propaganda in the public schools, and called on all members of the American Federation of Teachers to expose and oppose such activities.

Teachers were urged at the Peoria convention to preserve educational values, to further scholarship awards by trade unions and to ask local superintendents to use labor speakers and labor films in school assemblies and classes wherever business agencies receive such opportunities.

At the convention's opening session the delegates heard the following message from President Eisenhower:

"We American people all know that to preserve our freedoms we must count heavily on you men and women who teach in our schools and colleges. We know that free government cannot survive unless you lead

in the fight against those who—through dishonesty—would undermine our freedom and our liberty. In this age of very real peril, all Americans look to you for the inspiration our children need effectively and energetically to devote themselves to the virtues that have made America great."

The following fifteen vice-presidents were elected to serve one-year terms:

Mrs. Jessie I. Baxter of Lincoln Park, Michigan; George W. Beacom, Minneapolis; Selma M. Borchardt, Washington, D.C.; Arthur A. Elder, New York; John M. Fewkes, Chicago; Arthur J. Hartin, Boston; Mrs. Veronica B. Hill, New Orleans; Joseph F. Landis, Cleveland; F. Earl McGinnis, Jr., Wilmington, Delaware; Kathleen McGuire, Anaconda, Montana; Mrs. Cecile S. Oliver, Portland, Oregon; Rebecca S. Simonson, New York; Herrick S. Roth, Denver; William P. Swan, Gary, Indiana; and Mary R. Wheeler, Oak Park, Illinois.



"Oh, oh! The boss must be getting ready to rake someone over the coals again!"

WHAT THEY SAY

Charles J. MacGowan, A. F. of L. vice-president—The American Federation of Labor was the first group to recognize the evils of communism. For more than thirty years we have been the vanguard of an army vigorously and effectively fighting communism. Today the American Federation of Labor is giving comfort, support and courage to the enslaved in the Communist-dominated countries and doing all within its power to extend assistance to those less fortunate throughout the world. Our generosity and our advice had more to do with the recent upheaval in East Germany than any other single factor. The courageous spirit of the workers in East Germany is now expanding into other countries dominated by Moscow. Let us resolve that we will add more outposts to guard our own liberties by doing all things possible to assist the impoverished and enslaved peoples under Communist domination to gain their freedom.



Estes Kefauver, Senator from Tennessee—This is a time for renewed and vigorous interest on the part of all of us in what our government is doing in Washington. I have been very disturbed by the signs of retreat and withdrawal from so many vital areas in the domestic economic field. This trend first came to light in the so-called "tidelands oil" legislation, which opened the door to further raids upon the public lands and upon our natural resources. It also prevented, unless the courts or another Congress reverses these acts, the allocation of much-needed funds from this source of revenue for an improvement of education in the United States. The next most obvious re-



versal of policies which have meant so much to the working people of the United States was in the field of public power. There is no need for me to repeat the story of the Tennessee Valley Authority's experience in this Congress. But everywhere else over the nation public power has suffered as well—and in some instances we find in other public power actions signs which point to further danger ahead for TVA. This seems certainly true in the new Interior Department policy statement, when you couple it with its past actions. In housing and health legislation the story was similar. We must renew our determination to see to it that this nation remains one in which economic opportunity is open to all—in which prosperous working men and women, prosperous farmers and prosperous business communities join to make the American dream secure.

Harry E. O'Reilly, A. F. of L. director of organization—In the American Federation of Labor, with 111 national and international unions, some 850 central labor unions, fifty state Federations of Labor, not to forget the joint councils of the various trades, it would seem that it would be safe to say that more than 600,000 members are chosen each year by their fellow members for leadership and positions of responsibility, not only in their local community but in the state and the nation as well. This equal opportunity for everyone to take a daily part in trade union activities which are directed in the interests not only of the membership of the American Federation of Labor but of all wage-earners in this country is what makes it possible for our organization to overcome the obstacles that are very frequently put in its way to impede its progress. There has never been a period of time in the history of the American Federation of Labor that there were not obstacles making it



difficult for people to join the trade union movement. At the present time we have one which at times looks as though it might be insurmountable. That is the national legislation known as the Taft-Hartley Act. In addition to that, we have a number of states that have regulatory measures against trade unions which they call "right to work" bills and all that sort of thing, and in most cases they are more stringent than the national legislation. But in spite of that, even though it may slow us down and make it a little more drawn-out affair for the people to realize their ambition for collective bargaining, we are still winning new members, we are still winning NLRB elections, and the membership of the American Federation of Labor is increasing through representation in collective bargaining.

Paul Douglas, Senator from Illinois—It is good to recall what a vital part the labor movement plays in the defense of freedom. Programs to strengthen the free world militarily have had labor's effective support, and free trade unionism abroad has had American labor's encouragement. People the world over have been thrilled by the recent uprisings behind the Iron Curtain, touched off and extended so effectively by the workers in Eastern Germany. While stones could not avail against Soviet tanks, the flame of liberty was kindled and the hope of eventual liberation was quickened by what those brave workers did. With the same determination, though less dramatically, labor in our own country has kept up its pressure against Communist infiltration on the one hand and reactionary domination on the other. Increasingly, labor has broadened its own democracy, joined in movements against discrimination and enlisted its members in active citizenship.



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School Is So Important

"HERE it is almost time for school to begin again," said Binnie White.

"Yes, back to the old grind," said her chum, Shirley Pokrass.

"Of course, school has its compensations," said Binnie.

"Like what?"

"Well, like seeing everyone again we haven't seen all summer, besides learning a little from time to time."

"Yes, that's true," said Shirley. "I hope there are some cute new kids, especially boys. Most of all, I hope that a certain boy is in every class I have."

"Well, he won't be, if I'm right in guessing who you mean," Binnie said. "Rob says Buddy Elliston isn't going back to school this fall."

"He isn't?" gasped Shirley.

"Rob was talking to Buddy night before last. Buddy said he had been working all summer and making good money for a fellow his age. He can keep right on all winter and get a raise by next spring."

"But he told me when he started to work just after school was out that he was only going to work for the summer," said Shirley. "Why, he mustn't quit school now. He made honor roll and everything."

"I wish I had kept my big mouth shut," said Binnie, when she saw how Shirley was upset by the news. "I didn't expect it to make such a difference to you."

"Oh, Binnie, I'm glad you told me. But I just can't get over it. I don't understand it."

"Neither do I," said Binnie. "Rob tried to talk to him. You know, tried to talk him out of the idea. But Rob said it was like talking to a wall."

"I guess I'll go home," said Shirley, rising. "I want to think this over. It just wouldn't feel like the same world if Buddy isn't in school."

After her friend left, Binnie went inside the house and called her brother.

"Rob, didn't you tell me Buddy wouldn't listen to you the other night?" she asked.

"That's right. He just clammed up. You know it's a shame a good guy like Buddy isn't going back. He just has one year to get his high school diploma, and he's fixing to pass it up. He wants to earn some money. I told

him he could get a part-time job after school and make some that way. I tried to tell him that a fellow like him should be educated. He's too smart to count himself out of an education."

Binnie's and Rob's mother had come into the room. Now she spoke.

"Perhaps," she said, "Buddy's family is having some financial difficulties."

"I doubt that, Mother," said Binnie. "His father has a good job, and there's only Buddy and his little sister and his mother."

"I think it's just his taste for money," declared Rob. "He figures money right now is better than a chance to earn some later on."

"I didn't realize Shirley was as crazy about him as she evidently is," Binnie confided to her mother as the two went into the kitchen to start dinner. "She acted like she had just had word he was dead or something."

"Maybe she'll see him and get him to change his mind," said Mrs. White. "I hope his parents won't let him quit school. It's so silly to quit unless it is absolutely necessary. In that case it is almost always those young people who try to finish their education at night school or in special classes. Come, dear, let's get dinner ready and on the table. Daddy will be home soon, hungry as a bear."

"Hungry as a bear as usual," said Binnie, taking the dishes to the dining room.

When Shirley reached home she found that she couldn't lightly dismiss the information Binnie had given her. Shirley had counted so much on seeing Buddy when school started. All summer long, while she was away at camp, she had thought of him whenever she thought of the boys and girls at home. Buddy was someone special as far as she was concerned.

Shirley's mother noticed she was unhappy about something and she hoped her daughter would tell her what the trouble was. Shirley sat for a while watching television, but Mrs. Pokrass knew she was paying no attention to the program. It was one for very young children.

"What's new, Shirley?" her mother asked as she flipped off the program.

"Nothing much. I was just over to Binnie's."

"I know. Didn't she have any news? Her mother told me about the new dresses and skirts and blouses she had ready for school. I told her you and I still had lots of shopping to do. I want you to help choose your things, naturally, and with you being away all summer I just hadn't done much to get you ready for school. Oh, and by the way, this afternoon I met Mrs. Elliston in the drug store. Know what she told me?"

"Yes, I know. Buddy isn't going back to school." And with that Shirley burst into tears. "Oh, Mother, why don't they just make him go back to finish school? He's only seventeen."

Shirley's mother was so surprised at the girl's outburst that she scarcely knew what to do or say.

"But, dear," she said at last, trying to comfort her daughter.

"Is there any reason why he can't go back? Mother, he is just throwing away his future if he quits school just for the fun of it."

"Yes, dear. Now get yourself together and listen to me. Mrs. Elliston said Buddy likes his work so much that he wanted to quit school and continue with it. He is learning all about the business and wants to keep on with it. He had announced to his folks that he wanted to keep on working. Well, it seems his parents didn't want him to stop school, nor did his employer. They know how important school is."

"Last night Mr. Elliston, Buddy and Mr. Travis, Buddy's employer, had a long talk. Buddy is to go to school and work three or four hours after school. Mr. Travis said Buddy is the best young man he had and wanted to give him every encouragement to keep on with him—but not at the expense of his education. He said a high school graduate was worth much more to him, and even hoped he might be able to have Buddy with him part time while Buddy went on to the university."

"Oh, Mother, why didn't you tell me sooner?"

"Dear, I didn't even know you were interested in the boy or his job or his school or his future."

"Oh, but, Mother, I am. Maybe it will be my future, too," she said, with a smile as wise as the world.

When You Buy a HOME

You tell it to yourself in better days that the home you buy is one that has been properly built. You don't afford to take chances buying the workmanship of a home in two big and too important investments. You and your family want a home that has been built by experienced, thoroughly skilled craftsmen, for you know that only that kind of home is worth buying. And you know, of course, that such craftsmen are always union men—members of American Federation of Labor unions. But some of the people you meet and that with may not be equally well-informed. So do them a favor and tell them the facts. Tell them that if they want to buy a home that's worth owning, they should first make sure that it has been erected by skilled craftsmen—by members of A. F. of L. building trades unions. The only right home for you—and the only right home for them—is the home built 100% by union labor. Before you sign on the dotted line, make sure!

